
THE
BRITISH ISLES.
Relief Map.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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PREFACE

No explanation is necessary for the publication of this book. History of England is being so widely read and the number of books on the subject is so large that another book on the old lines would seem to be superfluous. Our main object in writing this book has been to present the main features of the evolution of England in a way intelligible to Indian students. The books in existence are mostly written for English students, and Indian students have no other alternative than to cram them up for University examinations. We have tried to develop the main ideas in as simple a form as possible and have given Indian parallels to illustrate them. The new syllabus drawn up by the Punjab University for the Intermediate students has been followed in preparing it. We have tried to avoid details which unnecessarily tax the memory of the students but at the same time the material facts have been narrated with a view to form a proper estimate of men and events. If this book succeeds in stimulating a spirit to study intelligently the problems of English History we shall consider our labour amply rewarded.

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PART I

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ISLES

The Geographical position and its influence. The group of islands in the Atlantic to the west of the mainland of Europe between 50° and 60° north occupies an important position in the history of the world to-day. According to the geological evidence these islands were in ancient times connected with the mainland, and the Thames then flowed into the Rhine. The men living in the islands were rude huntsmen with mammoth and woolly rhinoceros as neighbours and they made the caves their dwelling places and used rough stone implements. It is believed that the northern part of Europe down to the Thames was covered over with ice about 50,000 years ago. At the end of the glacial age the islands were separated from the mainland, the early rude inhabitants retreated towards the north and men of superior type appeared. These men had learnt the use of polished stone and the process of smelting copper and tin. At a much later age they began to grow wheat and adopted a settled life. There is no written record of these people till we come to 325 B.C. when a Greek named Pytheas visited the islands.

The position of the islands has greatly moulded their future history. They are so close to the continent but not connected with it, and it has therefore been said that "the British peoples were of Europe but not in Europe."

They were in touch with the inhabitants of the mainland and yet they could develop their own culture. This fact has characterised the history of Great Britain. The British people have no doubt been affected by the events and currents of thoughts in Europe, they have at the same time been able to lead an independent career. The distance between the continent and Great Britain is only 22 miles, and recently attempts have been made to cross the Channel between Dover and Calais by swimming. Peoples from the Rhine valley, and the western parts of Germany and France have easily crossed over to the islands. They entered by the rivers on the east coast and gradually penetrated into the interior. The low-lying parts of the south-east attracted immigration on account of their fertility and accessibility. The north-western parts are rugged and mountainous. They did not attract population till coal and iron came largely into use. The plains of the south and east developed agriculture and on account of the invention of steam engine the other parts have become prosperous through industries. The physical conditions had great effect upon the social and political life of the people. Ireland though separate from Great Britain has been historically connected with it since remote times. When pressure came from the continent the early inhabitants moved towards the north or crossed over to Ireland. The later immigrants remained mainly in England. The highlands of Scotland and Wales afforded shelter to the fugitives from the attacks of the invaders.

The temperate climate of the islands and their situation on the trade route of the different parts of the world have made the history of the British Isles so very important. The islands are rich in minerals and consequently they have been able to develop industries. The

seas around the islands have made the people sea-faring, bold and adventurous, and this has made them a great commercial race. Through commerce they have developed their empire. The coast of Britain attracted merchants from the Mediterranean on account of pearls, gold and tin which could be had in plenty there. The island was covered over with fertile plains, and rich forests where people could obtain sufficient game. The midlands contained marshy places and shallow lakes where could disport numerous fish and fowl. The chalky downs of Cornwall and the south-west attracted flocks of sheep to graze on the rich pasture lands, and provided flints to men, which were their main source of wealth. The physical features of England had many aspects to appeal to the imagination of the people and consequently there came waves of invasions from the east.

The Early Inhabitants. The ancient history of the Isles is embedded in darkness. The industrious students of the scattered remains of the past are trying to build up a story of the successive races who came to inhabit there. The scientists have divided the history of the earth into different ages according to the implements used. In the Pleistocene Age Britain formed the western part of Europe, and there was a continuity of life from one part to another. The bones of wild animals like wolves and bears, and of the animals now extinct such as mammoths and woolly rhinoceroses have been discovered, but no human bones of this period have been found. But from the flints and polished stones found along with these remains it is believed that men of the Palæolithic or Old Stone Age lived at that time. These men had to find their food by killing animals with stone. They had no polished implements and lived a wild life. Those who came after them developed better skill in

making their weapons and finding shelter for themselves. They made handles for their arrows and javelins and lived in caves. They polished and sharpened their stone instruments and consequently managed to obtain greater comforts for themselves. These men of the Stone Age have disappeared altogether, and there seems to be some resemblance between them and the Eskimos of North America.

In course of time the islands separated from the mainland, and its climate became more temperate. A new type of men crossed over from the continent by means of small rafts and settled there. They were dark-haired and long-headed and were short in stature and dark in complexion. They probably came from the Pyrenees. They are known as the Iberians, but the ethnologists say that they belonged to the "Mediterranean race." The Basques of the Pyrenees have come from the same stock. These Iberians improved upon the older people in their method of living. From the Stone Age they passed into the New Stone, and Bronze Age. Their weapons were more effective, and with their stone axes they cleared the forests so that they could form their settlements. Gradually they domesticated the animals, such as sheep, goats, dogs and pigs. They learnt the art of weaving and growing corn. They also began to make enough pottery. They used to live in groups with a view to defend themselves against wild animals. When attacked they withdrew towards the hills, and for safety raised earthworks and mounds round them. These works gave ample evidence of their military skill. Some of these places may still be seen in their ruins. The Maiden Castle near Dorchester is a place of this kind. The most important relics of these people are the large number of monuments erected upon their dead found on the open hills. More than two

hundred of these monuments have been discovered all over the island. Huge stones were placed upon the long barrows where the dead were buried. These structures required great mechanical skill, and some of them are considered to be very impressive, the most remarkable of which is at Stonehenge. The Iberians lived here down to about 1800 B. C. undisturbed by any other people. About that time came a people with a more developed civilization from Northern Europe. They buried their dead in round barrows and knew the use of bronze. These men of the Alpine race mingled their blood with the Iberians. The new race of the mixed people came into constant touch with the more advanced people of Europe, and learnt from them the art of agriculture and of manufacturing metal goods. Merchants from the Levant which was then the cradle of civilization used to visit Britain. They went to the island for pearls and gold, and taught the inhabitants there some of their arts. The Iberians moved from one part of the island to the other along the green tracks and collected moisture for agriculture in the dewponds along the ridges.

The Celts. From the seventh to the third centuries before Christ a new race with a different culture came to the island in successive waves. The Celts were a vigorous people belonging to the Aryan stock. Starting from the early home in Central Asia they went in different directions. They came and settled in Northern Europe, France and Spain. One group went to Italy and sacked Rome about 387 B.C. Thus different tribes of this race invaded Britain. The Goidels or Gæls were the first to come, then came the Brythons or Britons, after whom the island has been called Britain, and lastly the Belgæ. These Celts were tall in stature and fair in complexion. They could use iron

weapons, and therefore had no difficulty in overthrowing the Iberians whose weapons were of stone or bronze. From a linguistic survey of the islands it is assumed that the new-comers in their successive waves of invasion drove the early settlers to the highlands or across the seas to Ireland. The Gaelic tongue is still spoken in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. The language of the Britons is traceable in Wales, and in the eighteenth century in Cornwall. The Belgæ occupied the districts of the South. The Iberians and the Celts lived together although the earlier inhabitants had to accept the culture and customs of the strong invaders. The conquered people occupied no doubt a low social position as slaves and their women and children passed into the households of the conquerors as was the case with the Dravidians and the original inhabitants of India at the advent of the Aryans. The Celtic people in the British Isles kept up their relations with their kinsmen of Europe in Gaul and Western Europe. They imported gold coins and ornaments, and began to manufacture them on the style of their tribesmen across the Channel. When fighting they used chariots, and iron weapons. They lived in organised clans which were at constant feud with one another. In this matter they resemble the Aryan settlers of India. They built earth-works on hill-tops for the purpose of defence, otherwise they lived in the plains in scattered hamlets, hunting animals, tending sheep and growing wheat. They lived a pastoral life which can hardly be called civilized. But they came into contact with the Mediterranean people who came for tin of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, and for pearls which they could find in the islands in abundance. There was trade route directly by sea, and sometimes through Gaul across the Channel. The commerce thus carried on

familiarised the Britons with the culture of the outside world. Their religion consisted of the worship of many gods with the Druids as priests. These Druids practised wizardry, spirit worship and human sacrifice. They considered the mistletoe as a sacred tree and believed in various other superstitions. The priests occupied a very important position in society and wielded great powers. Britain was in this state of savage life when Julius Cæsar invaded the island in 55 B. C.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Cæsar's Invasions The European civilization had its rise first in Greece, and then in Rome. Alexander of Macedonia tried to spread the Greek civilization abroad by his extensive expeditions in Asia Minor, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan and the Punjab, (334-26 B. C.). About this time a Greek named Pytheas visited Britain, and has left the first written account of the island. He reports that the Britons used to prepare a drink from grain fermented with honey. He came there with a view to establish trade relations with Britain and Marseilles then a colony of the Greeks. Trade between Britain and the ports of the Mediterranean increased since then. By the middle of the third century B. C. the Roman Republic had risen into prominence. She entered into competition with other Powers for supremacy in the Mediterranean. She occupied Carthage after the three Punic Wars, and crushed the Greeks at the battle of Magnesia (190 B. C.). Asia Minor, Spain and Gaul gradually came under Roman control. The Roman system of government raised the level of culture of the peoples who came in contact with them.

Britain was first invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæsar in (55 B. C.). Cæsar is one of the greatest personalities of the world. A great soldier, a great statesman and orator, a great poet he conceived the idea of forming the Roman Empire. He was born in 100 B.C. and by dint of his ability he rose to be the leader of the popular party. While he was engaged in his expedition in

Gaul he found that the Britons were sending help to their kinsmen in Gaul. He therefore wanted to teach them a lesson. The thought of strengthening his position in Rome by his exploits abroad and by bringing money and slaves actuated him to go on an expedition to the British Isles. With about 8,000 men he reached Dover on August 26,55 B.C. but could not land there on account of the opposition of the Britons. He then moved on to Deal where also the Britons had assembled in large numbers. But the Romans with great boldness rushed forward and managed to reach the shore. Cæsar found that the expedition was of no use as the season was not favourable for operations. He stayed there only for three weeks. His ships carrying reinforcements from Gaul were damaged in a storm and in order to avoid further risks he returned to Gaul. The only gain of this expedition was some knowledge acquired about the island, which proved of use to him next year.

He came back with a large force next July, and pushed his way into the interior. The Britons who were organised under Cassivellaunus, the chief of the Catuvel-launi, tried to oppose his march and to harass thim with their chariots. But they were defeated at a batle near St. Albans. Some of the tribes left Cassivellaunus and went over to Cæsar. But the British chief threatened to attack the Roman base on the coast. Cæsar managed to frustrate the British design and forced Cassivellaunus to promise to pay an annual tribute. His object of teaching the Britons a lesson was fulfilled although he did not obtain any booty and capture many slaves. The affairs in Gaul required his immediate attention. On his return he had to subdue the rebellions in Gaul, and shortly afterwards he had to transfer his activities to the other

parts of the Roman dominions. Britain regained her former freedom. The promised tribute of Cassivellaunus was soon stopped. His grandson Cunobelin (5 to 40 A.D.) (Shakespeare's Cymbeline) re-established the supremacy of the Catuvellauni over the neighbouring tribes. Since the invasions of Cæsar the Britons came in greater contact with the Romans through their trade with Gaul. They were greatly influenced by the superior civilization of the Romans and adopted some of their customs. Cunobelin styled himself as "Rex Brittonum" on his gold coins and moved his capital to Camulodunum (Colchester). It was in his reign that the city of London came into existence. Britain, however, was far from civilized, as its exports were cattle and hides, corns, slaves and hunting dogs. The effects of Cæsar's invasions upon Britain were otherwise almost the same as that of Alexander the Great upon the Punjab. The invasion has been described in Cæsar's book *De Bello Gallico*, and it is from this account left by him that people know anything of the events.

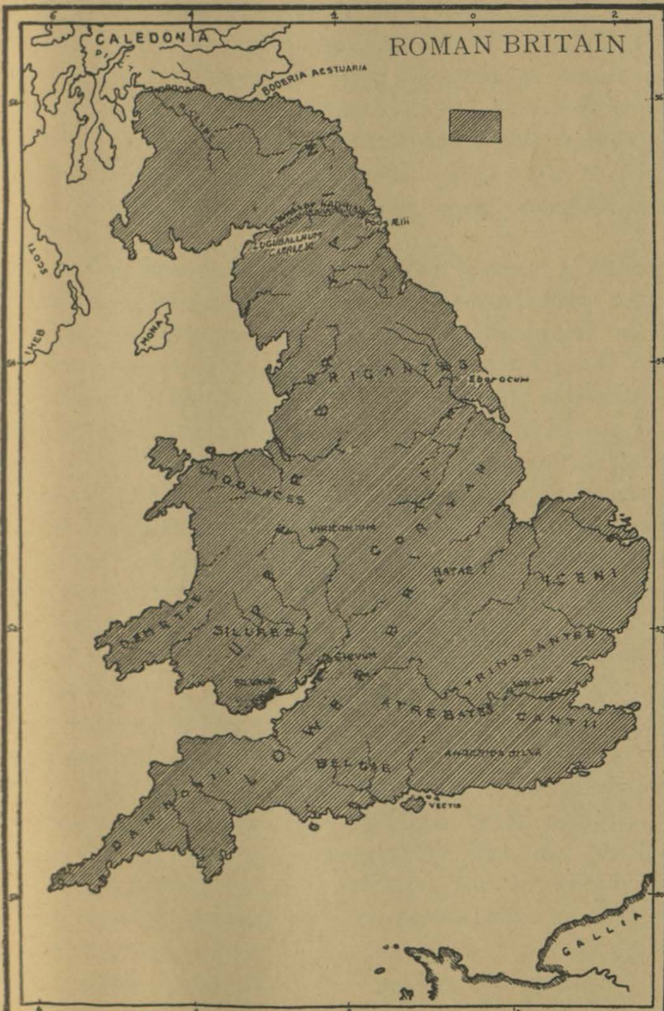
Cæsar was then involved in civil war in Rome. By his military genius he established his authority in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, Spain and Gaul. He became Consul, Tribune, Censor and Dictator. The republican party became discontented and wanted to put an end to his autocracy. He was assassinated in 44 B. C. when he was going to assume the title of Emperor. Although Cæsar was not tolerated as sole ruler of the vast Roman dominions his adopted son Octavian better known as Augustus ruled as Emperor from 31 B. C. to 14 A. D. His reign was a period of profound peace. But for about a century Britain remained undisturbed by them as the Emperors were not in a mood to undertake fresh adventures to extend the limits of the Empire.

The Roman Conquest. Emperor Claudius adopted a forward policy. He sent a general named Aulus Plautius to invade Britain in 43 A. D. The subjugation of the island was not a difficult affair since there was a spirit of resentment among some of the tribes against the dominance of the Catuvellauni. Aulus Plautius was later on joined by Claudius, and succeeded within five years to conquer the south and the midlands. But when they reached the borders of Wales they met with strong opposition. The wild tribes of the mountainous regions carried on depradations in the Roman territory, and garrisons had to be placed at important places to maintain the line. Governor Suetonius Paulinus made an attempt to subjugate the people of Wales, and he surrounded the fanatical Druids in the island of Mona (Aglesey) in 61 A. D. When the Romans were engaged in exterminating the superstitious priests with their wild followers a rebellion broke out in the east.

The Romans in the eastern districts ruled the people with a severity which has been compared to the misrule of Bengal by the British after Plassey. The natives were very heavily taxed and on their failure to pay their lands were sold off. When any resistance was offered the people were cruelly oppressed. The indignation of the people rose to fever heat when Boadicea, the widow of the chief of the Iceni, was publicly flogged and her two daughters brutally outraged, on the charge of inciting opposition to the Roman Government. The Celtic population gathered in thousands round her banner to take vengeance on the Romans. The Roman colonists in Camulodunum were massacred, and it is estimated that about 70,000 Romans were slain within a few days. Suetonius who was engaged in Anglesey came promptly to the place

of occurrence. He succeeded in crushing the rebellion. About 80,000 Celts were slain in the battle, and Boadicea committed suicide by taking poison. The trouble arose on account of the failure of Suetonius to govern the island properly, so he was recalled, and the system of government was thoroughly revised so that the people did not complain of the vagaries and injustice of the rulers. A better type of Romans came to Britain who won the esteem of the people and who now began to imitate their manners and customs, and to learn their language and art.

The Romans reached the furthest limits of their empire in Britain under their able Governor Agricola who came in 78 A. D. and remained there till 84 A. D. Although the people in the plains of east and south were completely reconciled to the Roman rule the frontier men in Wales or north still refused to accept their domination. Agricola completed the conquest of Wales, subjugated the people of the north and pushed his conquest to the Clyde and the Forth in Scotland. He built a number of forts between the mouths of these two rivers as a safeguard against the inroads of the Highlanders who received a taste of the courage and bravery of the disciplined troops under Agricola at Mons Graupius in 84 A. D. The Roman general intended to complete his conquest of Scotland and sent a fleet round the northern parts to survey the situation. But before the voyage was completed he was recalled by the jealous Emperor Domitian who probably thought that these military operations were too costly for the gains. The Caledonians were thus left undisturbed as a menace to the lowlands. Attempts were made by the Romans to prevent their inroads by erecting forts and walls. They did not venture to undertake further conquests. Emperor Hadrian who visited Britain in 119 A. D. built a stone wall between the Solway and the


ROMAN BRITAIN
CALEDONIA
BODERIA AESTUARIA
MONA
Pons Aelii
BRIGANTES
Eboracum
ORDOVICES
VIRICONIUM
CORITANI
RATAE
ICENI
DEMETAE
SILURES
TRINOBANTES
ATREBATES
CANTII
BELGAE
VECTIS
GALLIA

Tyne as a more effective defence. Subsequently Antonius Pius tried to strengthen Agricola's forts by a continuous earth-work. Emperor Severus who came to Britain in 208 A.D. was desirous of conquering the Caledonians but he failed. The Roman rule was established only over England and Wales, the few attempts that were made to conquer Scotland failed, and Ireland was never included in their programme.

The Roman Influence. The Romans remained in power in the island till 410 A.D. For nearly three centuries and a half they governed the southern Britain and made the Britons share in the benefits of the Roman law and Roman culture. The administration was generally in the hands of a great Roman general. Some of these generals *e.g.*, Carausius and Allectus (288—296 A.D.) wanted to rule independently of Rome, but these movements failed on account of the wise policy of Emperor Diocletian (285–305) who divided the vast empire into four charges. This arrangement was modified by Constantine who set up once again the unitary system of government, and placed Spain, Gaul, and Britain under a Vicar. Britain was thus reduced to the position of a subordinate province. The orders issued from Rome guided the policy of the Government in the distant parts.

The Roman Britain was divided into two parts according to geographical reasons. The South and East felt the Roman influence more quickly than the North and West. Strong Roman garrisons had to be placed in the frontier fortresses such as York, Chester, and Cærleon; Wales, Cornwall and Devon, Cumberland and Northumbria remained practically under military occupation. About 40,000 troops had to be kept in Britain for the maintenance of internal peace as well as for defence against

the inroads of the outlying tribes. The soldiers were very often given lands in the neighbourhood of their camps. The Roman legions were recruited in all parts of the Empire. Men from Gaul, Spain, Italy and Greece were placed in Britain, where they might marry British women. In other parts Roman civilization was imposed upon the Celtic population. Towns and cities were built and roads constructed. Roman civilization was mainly based upon city life, and in Britain their first contribution was the building of some cities. These cities sprang up either around the forts and old stockades, or in places of commercial importance. Eboracum (York) owes its rise to military reasons, as does London for commercial reasons. The roads were mainly planned for the movement of troops, but they were useful for trade and commerce. The Roman officers and men of distinction lived in villas built in Italian style, with decorations and comforts to which they were accustomed. But in the estates attached to the villas people had to submit to the rigid management of their masters almost like serfs. They lived peacefully and learnt the new methods of living and production of wealth although they did not enjoy what is called freedom. The people in the cities readily adopted Roman manners, put in Roman dress and learnt Latin. Thus the Roman historian Tacitus describes that the Britons were taught to love peace and to seek the pleasures of life in order that they might give up their martial propensities. Agricola encouraged them to build temples, market places and solid houses. He persuaded the Celtic chiefs to train their sons in the liberal arts. "Roman dress became the fashion, and the toga was frequently seen. By degrees the Britons began to appreciate those attractive

instruments of social corruption, pillared colonnades, public baths, and elegant banquets: All this the simpler people called civilization, but it was really the mark of their enslavement" says Tacitus. The position of the Britons under the Romans was practically the same as is the position of the Indians under the British. People in the cities mostly imitated the Romans, spoke Latin, and put on the toga, as the Indians in the towns and cities imitate the British, speak English and put on European dress. But the Roman culture did not penetrate far into the country where the old tribal system still persisted. Britain did not take very kindly to the civilized life of the Mediterranean people. With the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain every vestige of their culture disappeared from the island. The Celts reeled back into their old barbarism.

One important effect of the Roman occupation was the reclamation of forests and marshy tracts and the extension of agriculture. But still large areas remained uncultivated, and the Midlands were covered over with dense forests. Although the area under cultivation was not very extensive the produce was more than sufficient for local needs. The surplus grains were exported to Europe. The country was served by a number of important roads, some of which may still be seen. London was at the centre of a net-work of roads. Mines were worked, and on the whole the Romans contributed considerably to the economic development of the country.

The people were not intimately associated with the Government as the system was a military despotism. Some amount of self-government was extended to the cities, such as Verulamium, Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester and York, but the population in these cities was

mainly Roman or Romanised Briton. The Celtic chiefs were allowed to retain their old organisation, but they were led to adopt Roman manners and customs. There was a spirit of compromise with a view to reduce opposition but there was no desire to revive the Celtic system. The unhealthy rivalry between the Celtic tribes gradually disappeared, and the peoples of the different parts began to feel a sense of unity. The enterprising young men were drawn to the cities, and some of them were proud to enjoy the privileges of Roman citizenship. The pressure of foreign rule for more than three centuries did not however help the growth of a healthy national life. The so-called cultured people rejected what was their own in favour of a foreign culture which however did not prove very congenial to them. The Roman system of recruiting soldiers from all parts of the Empire, and sending men to serve in countries to which they did not belong might have developed a sense of the unity of the Empire, but could not awaken in them a deep love for their own country. They did not feel any enthusiasm to defend their native land, and gradually they lost their fervour for a military career.

In the matter of religion the Romans were pagans when they came to Britain. They had therefore no difficulty in identifying the Celtic tribal gods and nature spirits with gods of the Græco-Roman pantheon, although they suppressed the cruel practices of the Druids. It is presumed that only the organisations which attempted to overthrow the political supremacy of the Romans were severely dealt with. Roman gods and Celtic deities were worshipped side by side, and temples were erected in all parts in honour of these deities. Emperor Constantine made Christianity the religion of the

Empire in 323 A.D. But before that many people had accepted the new religion, and the message had reached Britain when men were known to have embraced martyrdom for the sake of their faith. It is very difficult to say how far the new religion touched the hearts of the people, for when the Romans left Britain they reverted to paganism.

End of the Roman Rule. The reorganisation of the Empire by Constantine could not, however, save it from disruption. The soldiers in the different provinces set up their own candidates for the imperial dignity. The generals anxious to follow in the footsteps of Cæsar forgot their own limitations. One such general in Britain named Maximus was proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers in 383 A.D. He left Britain with a large army to conquer Gaul and Spain. He not only failed to achieve his object but weakened the defence of the island as the soldiers who went with him did not return. On the other hand the depredations of the Picts from the north and of the Scots from Ireland increased. The Saxon pirates raided the eastern shores and harassed the people. A line of fortresses had to be built as a protection against them between the Wash and the Beachy Head and a special officer with the title of Count of the Saxon Shore was appointed to organise defence. The Roman Empire was then confronted by a great danger from Central Europe. Hordes of Goths, Franks, Vandals and Burgundians swept away before their ferocious attacks the authority of the Romans all over their vast dominions. Another general in Britain named Constantine made a bid for the Empire with the support of the soldiers who accompanied him across the Channel and thus left Britain absolutely without defence (409 A.D.)

When next year the Britons appealed to Emperor Honorius for help against the ravages of the invaders they were advised to look after themselves. Britain was released from the Roman control not because the people rebelled, but because the Romans on account of their danger at home had to withdraw from the distant island.

The Britons found themselves in a miserable condition. They were not trained either in the art of government or of war. When the protecting arms of the Romans were withdrawn they could neither defend themselves, nor could they retain any of the Roman institutions. The island was thrown into utter chaos for about a century and a half. The marks of Roman occupation were obliterated excepting in a few places. The Roman language was forgotten, Christianity was driven out, and Roman law banished. The 'Roman Peace' disappeared from the island. Barbarians had no attraction for the civilization of the Mediterranean, and all the improvements that the Romans effected fell into neglect. The roads went out of repairs, the forests grew thick, and marshes spread. Britain was cut off from all civilizing influence for sometime to come.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENTS

The Anglo-Saxon Conquest On the departure of the Romans the Britons were left to manage their own affairs. But they were not competent either to defend or govern themselves. Local chiefs here and there might have tried for a restoration of the old system, but the attacks of the Picts and Scots and of the pirates from the German shores gave them little leisure for a peaceful settlement of their domestic problems. There is no authentic account of the period till we come to the time of St. Augustine. The earliest book is that written by a monk named St. Gildas, in about 540 A.D. which bore the title of "The Pitiful Book of the Destruction of Britain." The author probably left Britain when he wrote the book which can hardly be called a book of history. The next source of information is the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation written by the venerable Bede, but as he came about two hundred years later his account cannot be called contemporary, nor the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of the time of Alfred (871—901) can claim to be based on accurate information. This chapter of British history is absolutely shrouded in darkness. The historians have attempted to fill in the blank by guess-work with the help of archæological remains which have been recently unearthed or the traditional stories. But as they rely mainly upon their imagination we have not anything amounting to actual history, and their views are necessarily not identical.

The earlier theory based upon the Anglo-Saxon

Chronicle was that the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, who came from the coasts of Germany and Denmark in the fourth century when the Roman Empire was in its decline, found it an easy task to conquer the defenceless Britons. They landed at different places, defeated the Romanised Britons who offered resistance, and established their settlements wherever they could entrench themselves strongly. Sometimes they joined with other raiders and attacked the Britons. The combined raids might have been repulsed as in the Hallelujah victory in Yorkshire in 429 A.D. The British people at other times engaged these adventurers against the invaders from the north. As for example, we are told that one of the British rulers Vortigern invited the two pirate leaders Hengist and Horsa to drive away the Picts in 449 A.D., and in reward for the services rendered he gave them the Isle of Thanet to live in. With Thanet as the resting place these sea-rovers began to penetrate into the different parts of the island. They devastated the old Roman towns, the country was laid waste, and on account of their depredations those who could afford fled to Gaul, and the large majority who were left behind were compelled to take service under the conquerors. The Britons organised their forces to ward off the danger. Under their leader Ambrosius Aurelianus they defeated the Jutes at Mount Badon (possibly in Dorset) in 516 A.D. and made an attempt to check the barbarian inrush. But subsequently they could not resist the attacks of the stronger invaders, and by the middle of the sixth century England was overrun by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who imposed their Nordic civilization and culture upon the Britons. The modern English life thus started its career from this Anglo-Saxon conquest. The old Britons were driven westwards.

Some of the modern writers hold that the Anglo-Saxon conquests by the end of the sixth century were not considerable. They, however, established themselves on the coasts from Cornwall to the Forth. These settlements cut off Britain from the main land of Europe, and thus isolated her from the European civilization. But we find that the Anglo-Saxon language supplanted the Roman and Celtic languages. The language of the invaders could not have been accepted unless they had subjugated the early inhabitants. But these straggling bands of raiders could not have exterminated the entire population, with whom they were commingled, and thus helped to evolve a new culture which showed marks of Anglo-Saxon predominance. A modern historian, on the authority of Gildas, states that the work of destruction was carried by a 'host' of many bands acting together under a united military command, and that they advanced rapidly across the centre of the island till they reached the Western sea at some point, and then they withdrew leaving blank ruin behind. It was in this way that the Roman cities and villas in the Midlands and the Middle West were destroyed before permanent settlements of the invaders in those parts which remained for years a no-man's land.

While the war-bands were devastating the island groups of men with their families and children settled on the coast. The Jutes coming from Jutland in the north of Denmark settled in Kent. The Angles and Saxons who lived on both sides of the mouth of the Elbe came later. One wave of Saxons settled to the south and west of Kent, in what is now known as Sussex. Another swarm of Saxons planted a settlement on the coast round Southampton. They were then joined by a body of Jutes who had already occupied the Isle of Wight and penetrated into modern

Hampshire. They were subsequently known as West Saxons. At the battle of Mount Badon their progress was checked. A third wave of the Saxons settled itself upon the low coast to the north of the Thames, in the parts now known as Essex. Further north the Angles gradually established their colonies in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Yorkshire and Northhumberland, as far as the Forth. In course of time the invaders penetrated into the interior along the navigable rivers, reduced the Roman towns and villas and the Celtic homes and settled wherever they found it convenient. Proceeding along the rivers Trent and Ouse they reached the Midlands and formed a number of small kingdoms, the chief of which was Mercia or the kingdom of the Mercians or Borderers.

These small settlements sometimes fought among themselves, and sometimes they formed alliances with the Britons against their own tribesmen. It was a period of welter. The constant fights reduced the number of the small kingdoms and brought into existence a few strong states. With the disappearance of the Roman influence there was a revival of Celtic tribalism with inter-tribal warfare as its chief characteristic. This made the Saxon conquest so very easy.

Rise of the English. The Anglo-Saxon invaders were all foot-soldiers, and were at a disadvantage in fighting with the Britons who defended themselves within strong camps and stone-walled Roman cities. But the people in the island were not trained to self-defence, and they could not stand before the half-armed men from the German coast. After destroying the Roman cities and villas the Anglo-Saxons settled themselves in rural areas, and took to agriculture as the means of subsistence. They pressed the Britons westwards, and those who were left behind

submitted to them and were absorbed by the conquerors. The English people came out of the blending of the Anglo-Saxon conquerors and the subjugated British. A large number of immigrants poured from Denmark and Sweden, into the land which had already been occupied by the people of the Kingdom of 'Angel' and gave it the name of 'Engle-land' or England. In course of time the new race of the people became known as the English. The Britons driven westward were called 'Welshmen' or foreigners. There is a tradition that a Welsh King named Cunedda once governed Upper Britain from the Clyde to the south of Wales. The people in those parts were fused together on account of the fear of the English and received the name of Kymry or Comrades. The march of the English towards the west was considered a common danger by the different Celtic tribes and they offered resistance under the leadership of one supreme ruler. The unity of the Kymry produced a movement among the English tribes to unite with a view to meet the Welsh combination.

The English Institutions. The Anglo-Saxon settlers who drove the Celts and crushed the Roman culture in Britain brought with them their language, manners and customs, their social and political organizations and their religion. They were barbarians compared to the civilized Romans, and lived in villages as free cultivators. They were faithful to their leaders and fond of country life. They never before lived in towns and did not appreciate the advantages of commerce and manufacture. Their domestic life was very happy, and the men were fond of their wives and children. The standard of morality was high as we are told that they hated treason and impurity. Their religion consisted of the worship of the natural forces which inspired awe, such as the forces of thunder or

lightning, of wind, rain, sunshine, heat and cold, dearth and plenty. In this matter their life to some extent was similar to that of the people described in the Rig Veda. Their chief gods were Thor and Wodin.

On their arrival in the new country they settled in small groups of kinsfolk in 'tun' or 'ham' along the banks of the rivers. The 'tun' meant an earthen mound which served as the defence of the community, and 'ham' was a plot of dwellings knit together by their common holding within the same boundaries. "Each little village-commonwealth lived the same life in Britain" says Green, "as its farmers had lived at home. Each had its moot-hall or sacred tree as a centre, its 'mark' as a border; each judged by witness of the kinsfolk and made laws in the assembly of its freemen, and chose the leaders for its own governance, and the men who were to follow headman or ealdorman to hundred-court or war." People didnot know anything beyond their little settlement. Each man possessed a homestead, and beyond the cluster of homesteads lay the arable area divided into plots allotted to the householders. On the fringe of the village was the extensive area of common pasture and wood. The village organization required the survices of a few officers such as the Reeveor foreman, the hayward who had to protect the fences, the shepherd and the swineherd. The system was almost the same as in India during the Buddhist period.

Among the people there were different classes with varying rights and privileges. The hereditary freeman was known as the 'Eorl' and others with no such privilege were the simple "Ceorls." Below them were the slaves. The fighting followers of the Ceorls were called the Gesiths, who later on adopted the name of Thegns or servants. The Gesiths constituted the main army of the village, although

the Ceórls were obliged to fight whenever necessary for defence. The villagers were not unwilling to defend their own hearths and homes, and a chief feature of their village life was the Fyrd consisting of the Gesiths and Ceorls. The Gesiths in the beginning used to live with their chiefs or Hlafords (Lords) and were greatly devoted to them. Later on they lived in houses of their own though bound to the chiefs to render military service, and were known as Thegns. These Thegns employed bondmen or villeins for cultivating their lands, but allowed them to own and cultivate their own lands. Besides these there were slaves recruited from prisoners of war or men reduced to slavery on account of debt or crime. A slave had no claim to ordinary justice, and no kinsman could avenge any wrong done to him, the Thegns very often rose to the rank of nobility as a reward of service done to the king.

The smallest political organization was the township consisting of the freemen of the village, who met together to settle petty disputes among themselves under the presidency of the headman or the Reeve. Peace had to be maintained by making men of full age responsibe for one another, who formed groups of ten or "tithings" for the purpose. Important cases were carried to the hundred moot which was the court of the district. Four men and the reeve from every township along with the Eorls and Thegns living in the hundred attended their court once a month. Disputes regarding property as well as criminal cases were heard in the hundredmoot, and more important cases were dealt with by the folk-moot which was the meeting of the entire tribe or folk, consisting of several hundreds. It was held twice a year under the Ealdorman, and as in the case of the hunderd-moot it was attended by four men and the reeve from each township. In this important assembly of

the tribe questions of war and peace were settled. The affairs of the folk were thus managed by their own representatives. Self-government was the basis of the Anglo-Saxon life.

These people however had no regular system of law, and the method of justice was very crude. The decisions of the tribal or community meetings had the force of law. The early practice of "blood for blood" was later on replaced by the system of "Weregild' in the form of money as a compensation for the loss suffered through the death of a kinsman. There was a table which fixd the value of men of different ranks. The amount of compensation for other offences was also laid down acccording to a fixd scale. It was easy to award a penalty where the accused admitted his guilt. But complications arose when the charges were denied. Then the accused had to produce twelve men to be his 'compurgators, that is to say, these men had to swear that the oath taken by the accused was true after hearing him swear to his innocence.' If he could not find the requisite number of compurgators he had to submit to the "Ordeal" or the judgement of the gods. He had to walk blindfold over burning ploughshares or plunge his hands into boiling water, and then to show at the end of a fixed number of days that he had come out scatheless. As this was adopted when a man failed to find out compurgators it was assumed that he was guilty. The punishment depended upon the nature of the crime. It might be a fine or death or slavery.

The new situation in Britain brought a change in the political organization of the Anglo-Saxons. They had to find a leader who could organise the tribal forces to overcome the combined resistance of the Britons. This new

leader became known as the king or head of the kinsmen and he enjoyed higher authority than the Ealdorman who was the head of the folk. The military leaders rose to this position *e. g.* the sons of Hengist in Kent.

CHAPTER IV

BACK TO CIVILIZATION

Advance of the West Saxons. The small kingdoms scattered on the coast tried to expand their territories. The West Saxons had received a check at Mount Badon in 520 A. D. They then marched towards the Thames, met with another branch of Saxons who had occupied London and settled in Middlesex and pushed the Jutes of Kent eastward. Later on they drove the Britons northward as far as Bedford (571 A. D.) . Under the leadership of their king Ceawlin they won a decisive victory over three British kings at Deorham in 577 A.D., reached the Severn valley and thereby thrust a wedge between the Britons of Cornwall and Devon and those of Wales. In their attempt to reach Chester they were repulsed by the Britons at Faddiley and since then they were split up into two parts. Those who remained in the Severn Valley called themselves Hwiccan and combining with the Britons defeated Ceawlin at Wanborough. Henceforth the West Saxon kingdom remained confined within its reduced area for a long time.

Britain at the end of the Sixth Century. The Angles who had settled in the north began to spread till they reached the great Fen in the centre of England. They went northwards as far as the Firth of Forth and between the Humber and the Firth of Forth, there were a number of settlements. By the middle of the sixth century two kingdoms arose into prominence, namely, Bernicia and Deira, and in 588 the king of the former,

Æthelric was recognised as king of the two parts and the combined kingdom became later on known as Northumbria. The Jutes in Kent had acquired importance under Æthelbert whose supremacy was acknowledged by the Saxons as well as by the English of East Anglia and Mercia. Besides the kingdoms of the West Saxons in Wessex the Angles in Northumbria and of the Jutes in Kent and South East there were the Celtic settlements in Cornwall and Devonshire and in the Western district from the Clyde to the Severn. North of the Clyde and the Forth were the Goidels and Picts. A large number of Celts had also crossed the sea and lived in Ireland along with the Scots.

The Anglo-Saxons were heathens and worshipped their heroes and nature gods. They uprooted the Christian influence in England, but the Celtic populations who had retired westward still retained their old faith. The Celtic monks kept up the doctrines of Christianity although they were cut off from Roman life and culture. One of these monks was carried as a captive to Ireland, and by his religious fervour, he converted the peoples there to Christianity. St. Patrick has become the patron saint of the Irish. He carried on his ministration from 432 to 461 A.D. The monasteries which the monks established became centres of learning and religion. The Irish monks developed their faith untramelled by the control of the Roman hierarchy. These monks lived in their huts, preached their religion, and served the poeple with whom they lived. They did not give up the study of secular classical literature as the censure of the Pope did not reach them. But the system of loose tribal organisation in which they lived did not help the growth of civilization. Although their religion was pietic, some of the monks went out further

afield to bring the heathens to their faith. St. Columba carried Christianity from Ireland to Scotland. In 563 A.D. he founded a monastery in the island of Iona, close to Scotland. The monks carried on their missionary activities in North Britain with Iona as their centre. The Angles of Northumbria in those days were in constant war with the Celtic populations of the north, who were distributed into three main groups viz. Picts of North Scotland, Britannic Celts of Strathclyde and the Scots of Argyllshire. Columba became very popular with Picts and Scots and within a short time Christianity made rapid progress. Towads the close of the sixth century the British Isles consisted of a large number of small kingdoms, and the people were heathens in England whereas the Celtic populations retained the Christianity although they had no connection with the Roman Church.

Return of Christianity to England. The Roman legions were withdrawn from England in 410 A.D. and since then the relics of their civilization and culture gradually disapeared. The Anglo-Saxons who conquered Britain did not appreciate the religion of Christ who taught the doctrines of charity, humility and self-discipline. They liked the religion of the Scandinavians, worshipped Odin and Thor and sacrificed cattle and horses. But their religon did not contain elements of improvement and did not satisfy the spiritual needs of the people. Their priests had no corporate consciousness nor were they jealous of their rights. When Christianity was presented to them in acceptable form they readily embraced it. The movement for the spread of Christianity came from the North and the South almost at the same time. The monks coming from the monastery at Iona penetrated into Northumbria, while St. Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory the Great

of Rome. It is reported that before Gregory became the Pope he had conceived the idea of carrying the gospel to England on seeing a few English boys exposed for sale at Rome. The opportunity came when Æthelbert the king of Kent, married the daughter of a Christian king of Gaul. Queen Bertha brought with her a Chaplain and found an old church at Canterbury to worship in. St. Augustine landed in the Isle of Thanet with forty followers. It was at this place that the Jutes had landed a century and half ago. The mission was favourably received by the king. The poeple of Kent were impressed by the life and conduct of the monks and within a short time all Kent was converted. Augustine was assigned Canterbury with a ruined church which he made the seat of his Archbishopric. The new religion spread in Essex and East Anglia through the influence of Æthelbert who was their overlord. Bishoprics were established at Rochester and London. On the death of Æthelbert in 616 A.D. Essex relapsed into heathenism but Christianity retained its hold in other parts.

The new religion reached an important stage when it was carried to Northumbria which held for some years the position of supremacy in the north. King Æthelfrith had defeated a combined attack of the Celts and Picts at Degastan near, Jedburg in 603 A.D. He pushed a wedge into the Celtic parts by winning a great victory at Chester in 613 A.D. But his cousin Eadwine who was a fugitive in different courts came back and had him slain at a battle in 617 A.D. Eadwine married a daughter of Æthelbert of Kent and with her came Paulinus as her Chaplain who converted the king and his people to Christianity. With the conversion of Kent and Northumbria the Roman Christianity was on its way to success.

The Struggle for Supremacy. Eadwine the king of Northumbria (617·–633) was a forceful personality. Under him Deira and Bernicia were united as the kingdom of Nortnumbria. He built a fortress near the Forth which is now called after him as Edinburgh. He conquered the Isle of Man and Anglesey and assumed the title of Bretwalda (ruler of the Britons). By 625 A. D. East Anglia and the kingdoms of central England acknowledged his overlordship. He defeated the West Saxons in 626 A. D. and forced them to acknowledge him as their overlord. By his marriage he formed an alliance with the kingdom of Kent. The secret of his success was the possession of a strong war band. His conversion to Christianity, however, produced a reaction. The warlike people did not like the new religion and the king of East Anglia who had accepted Christianity in imitation of his overlord was slain. In Mid-Britain Penda the heathen king of Mercia extended his powers from the Severn to the Fens and in alliance with Cædwalla, a Welsh king, defeated and slew Eadwine at the battle of Heathfield (modern Hatfield) in Yorkshire in 633 A. D. The kingdom of Northumbria was again split up into two and East Anglia acknowledged the overlordship of Penda. Paulinus fled from Northumbria. The Welsh chief Cædwalla devastated the country to avenge the wrongs done to his race. Oswald, a son of Æthelfrith, who was in exile in Scotland defeated Cædwalla at Heavenfield with the help of the people of Bernicia in 635 A. D. and re-established the kingdom of Northumbria. He brought with him a monk named St. Aidan belonging to the monastery of St. Columba. He founded monasteries at Melrose and Lindisfarne and won the people to his religious views. Oswald was greatly influenced by him and led a saintly life. In course of time he was recognised as

the overlord in the kingdoms hostile to Penda. Wessex accepted Christianity and Oswald's supremacy. But Penda once again gathered up his forces, defeated Oswald at the battle of Maserfield in 644 A. D. Oswald died fighting. On the death of Oswald his brother Oswy took his place, but the kingdom of Northumbria was split up and thrown into confusion. It took Oswy some years to bring about the unity of Northumbria. In 655 A. D. he defeated and killed Penda on the Winwood near Leeds.

Although Penda was overthrown Northumbria could not recover its supremacy. Mercia was split up into small kingdoms and under the leadership of Wulhere the Mercians threw off the control of Oswy in 659 A. D. From that time till the advent of the Danes in the ninth century there were three big kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex and the small kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex and Sussex. This period when England contained those kingdoms has been called the period of Heptarchy. The small kingdoms were attached to either Mercia or Wessex. Mercia was the greatest kingdom in the eighth century and its king Offa who reigned from 757 to 796 was one of the greatest men of the age. Early in the ninth century Wessex rose into prominence. There was no chance of unity in England till the different kingdoms were confronted by a common enemy.

Church Organisation. After the downfall of Penda Christianity was introduced into Mercia by St. Chad. The whole of England was now converted into Christianity; Northumbria, Mercia and Essex by the monks from the monastery of Iona; and in Kent and Wessex the Roman church carried on the work of evangelisation. The Celtic monks were no doubt very active in spreading the new faith, but they lacked an effective organisation and

consequently they had to give way before the superior organisation of the Roman Church. They developed certain practices according to local circumstances. In certian minor matters such as the keeping of tonsure and the time of Easter the two churches differed. A priest named Wilfrid tried to bring the two churches together and persuaded king Oswy to renounce his connection with the church of Iona. Oswy resolved to decide the conflict between the two churches by it disputes to a conference of bishops at Whitby (664 A. D.). It was argued that the Roman Church used to keep the Easter according to the system of St. Peter and it would be better for the English Church to follow St. Peter who had the key to the gates of heaven. Oswy decided in favour of the Roman Church and thereby brought England into communion with the continent of Europe. The island which was till then divided politically as well as socially started the movement of unification through church. The Anglo-Saxons and the Celts had now to submit to the control of the ecclesiastical authorities in religious matters, the tribal feuds were forgotten before the broader problems of the nation, and people were brought into contact with the civilization of Europe. The English church had to look up to the Catholic church of Rome for guidance. The monks of the church of Iona could not keep aloof for a long time. Most of them accepted the new order of things and in course of time the British Isles assimilated its culture to that of Europe.

After the decision of the Synod of Whitby a man from Asia Minor, Theodore of Tarsus was sent as Archbishop of Canterbury. It was to the credit of this man of Asia, assisted by an African named Hadrian that the church of England was organised. Theodore carried on his work

of organisation from 669 to 690 A. D. The problem before the church was not simply the conversion of the heathens but to bring the missionary efforts to a system. He increased the number of bishops and divided England into regular dioceses with the gradually increasing number of parochial clergy. The monasteries were also brought into the ecclesiastical system. He introduced the parish system which forms the chief feature of the English life. The bishops encouraged the appointment of priests in smaller areas to look after the religious life of the people. Very often the Thegns desired the services of private chaplains who became in course of time the parsons of the parish. Sometimes freemen of two or three hamlets maintained a priest. These parish priests improved the moral and social ideals of the wild Saxon people and brought at once a new order of things. The Christian civilization as found in the countries round the Mediterranean transformed the life of the English people.

Effect of Christian Influence. Christianity brought to the people who lived a rude life a new mode of living. They gave up their old methods of bloody revenge and were taught to believe that murder was a sin. They began to appreciate the higher ideals of life, and abandoned the gratification of their own passions in their dealings with men. With the advent of Christianity England once again received the benefit of education and learning. The monks and priests carried the torch from hamlet to hamlet, gave a form and shape to the English language and enriched the English literature.

The ideals of the Anglo-Saxon race are graphically described in the Norse epic Beowulf written by a Scandinavian bard in the seventh or eighth century. In this

book which is considered to be the earliest book in the English literature, war and martial deeds are praised. Christianity had a sobering effect and the first poem written in the English language was devoted to creation and the ways of God. Christianity brought with it church music and sometimes the priests appealed to the heart of the people through music. It became a custom among the people to sing songs and to play on the harp by turns at feasts. A rude herdsman named Cædmon once left a feast as he could not either compose verse or sing a song. He returned home in disgust but one night in dream he was asked to sing of the creation. He then began to put the words together in dream and thereby became the first English poet. His was the greatest religious poem in English till we come across the *Paradise Lost* of Milton.

The most remarkable contribution of the age, however, was the foundation of the School of Jarrow for classical scholarship. The Celtic monks retained their love of Latin literature, even when it was discouraged in Europe. Theodore, Hadrian and their English colleague Benedict Biscop brought to England a good store of Greek and Latin books. On their arrival Canterbury became a centre of classical learning. One of the distinguished scholars of the age was Bede (673—735). He became a monk at Jarrow on the Tyne in Durham, which developed into a great school as here Bede began to give lessons in Greek and Latin to six hundred monks. He wrote books in different subjects, such as Astronomy, Physics, History, Grammar, Medicine, Music. His *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* is the most important source of information for a history of the period. He was the first to describe the English people as one nation although the country was still divided into a number of small kingdoms.

The evidence of a united nation was provided when Theodore held an English Church Council at Hertford in 673 A. D. Similar councils were held later on and in church matters people met together irrespective of their local and tribal loyalties. The English Church in this way developed the national consciousness of unity before the rival kingdoms could be welded together into one whole.

Contact with the Roman Church brought to England a new type of ecclesiastical architecture. The Celtic missionaries used to worship in structures made of wooden walls with roofs of reed. Even the Cathedral of Lindisfarne was of this material. The church builders of the seventh and eighth centuries built the new churches in imitation of the Italian and Frankish architecture with stones found from the ruined cities and villas of the Roman period. But most of the parish churches still continued to be made of timber.

Along with the moral and material progress the English social life underwent transformation in other ways. The church dues were collected with great severity, the farmer had to pay the tithe or the tenth part of the gross produce of the soil which was necessary in making the church organisation effective. The freemen became henceforth bound to the church and their ancient liberty was reduced. It has therefore been remarked by a thoughtful historian that the "growth of the power and influence of the church spiritual and progressive on one side was feudal and aristocratic on the other." Bishoprics and monasteries began to be endowed with vast estates and the system of alienation of land by written royal charters and wills started. The movement was similar to the grant of lands to the Buddhist monasteries and learned Brahmans, teachers and temples in India. Richly endowed

churches necessarily reduced the position of the peasantry and the English society was thus bound in the chain of feudalism. It is, however, believed that the relations between the monasteries and the peasantry were happy.

Political Changes. The Anglo-Saxon people carried on their administration and justice through their town-moots, hundred-moots, and folk-moots. When the process of expansion proceeded, and the kingdoms grew in size it was not possible for the representatives of villages and hundreds to meet in the folk-moot or shire court. The poor peasants could not walk up long distances and were unable to meet their expenses. Whenever occasion demanded they sometimes sent a representative with a petition to the king. The representatives who were paid by the villagers for services rendered to them acquired some importance in society and thus a system of "feudalism" began to grow up from below. But very often the king sent his "gesiths" to villages as his representatives. These "gesiths" or king's companions were granted land on the understanding that they would come to the shire-moot and would bring with them a number of villagers to fight whenever they would be asked to do so. A second type of feudalism was then imposed from above. In the larger kingdoms the shire-moots became unwieldy and in their place the king consulted the Witenagemot or the council of wisemen. It was composed of the ealdormen of shires, the sub-kings of the subjugated realms, the king's chief thegns and the bishops of his kingdom. The folk-moots were superseded and along with them the people lost their share in the administration of the country. The Witenagemot became the chief centre of political activities. "It shared in the higher justice, the imposition of taxes, the making of laws, conclusion of treaties, the control of

war, the disposal of public lands, the appointment of great officers of state. There were times when it even claimed to elect or depose the king." says Green. With the increase in the power of this great royal council the old English democracy gradually ceased to function. The changes made the king stronger, as he obtained greater control over his counsellors.

The church played an important part in the new order of things. There was practically no cleavage between the church and the state. The bishops and clergy constituted the mainstay of the Government and they filled large number of posts in the civil service. In the pre-Norman days there were no separate church courts, and the clergymen were very useful in reducing to writing the customs and the usages. The Bishop administered both spiritual and secular laws sitting on the same Bench with the Earldorman or Sheriff in the Shire Court. The church thus exercised a great influence in the political life of the Anglo-Saxons.

CHAPTER V

THE DANISH INVASIONS.

Consolidation of England. On the death of Oswy in 670 the kingdom of Northumbria lost its leadership in England. His son Egfrith was killed in a battle at Nectansmere where he went to subjugate the warring Picts (685 A. D). Since then Northumbria fell into a state of confusion although it retained its intellectual supremacy for some years. The venerable Bede carried on his work of teaching the monks and writing valuable books at Jarrow in Northumbria till 735 A. D. In this province was written the first English poem by the famous Cædmon and from this province went Alcuin the friend and adviser of Charlemagne the great. Alcuin was born at York in 732 A. D. and soon became famous as a great scholar and went to Rome in 780 A. D. While he was in Italy he met Charles the Great and at the persuasion of the great king the English scholar spent the last part of his life at his court. In this way it was through Northumbria that classical learning was revived in Western Europe.

Throughout the eighth century Mercia occupied the first position in England. Its king Æthelbald became overlord of this island south of the Humber. But his supremacy was challenged by the West Saxons who defeated him at the battle of Burford in 654 A. D. Since then there were three powerful kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Offa (758—796) raised the middle kingdom to a position of great influence. He compelled Kent and Essex to submit to him (775 A. D), wrested from the kingdom

of Wessex its territories north of the Thames (779 A. D.) and captured from Northumbria South Lancashire. He drew back the Welsh from the Severn to the other side of the Dyke which has been called after him. Shortly after his death in 796 A. D. Mercia lost its supremacy. The kingdom was weakened by a civil war and in 825 A. D. the Mercian king Beornwulf was defeated by King Egbert of Wessex at the battle of Ellandun. East Anglia rose in revolt and the powerful kingdom of Mercia was torn into pieces.

Egbert made Wessex the chief state in England. Early in life he had been driven out by his rival Beorhtric and was forced to take refuge in the court of Charlemagne at Aix-la Chapelle. There he learnt the art of government and on the death of Beorhtric he was acknowledged as the king of Wessex in 802 A.D. From that time till 839 A.D. he ruled the country and got himself recognised as the paramount ruler of all England. No other king received that position before. Although he did not directly rule the whole of England he placed members of his own house upon the thrones of Kent, Sussex and Wessex and the rulers of Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria acknowledged his suzerain authority. The position that Egbert acquired was retained by his worthy descendants for six generations. The internal feuds and civil wars which had kept England weak and divided were however laid aside when they were confronted by the attacks of the Vikings. The common danger forced the rival kingdoms to combine and thus in course of time they were welded together in one state. In time of the national crisis the kings of Wessex showed extraordinary energy and great strength of character. They displayed great qualities as warriors and statesmen and in the work of

consolidation they received the hearty co-operation of the church.

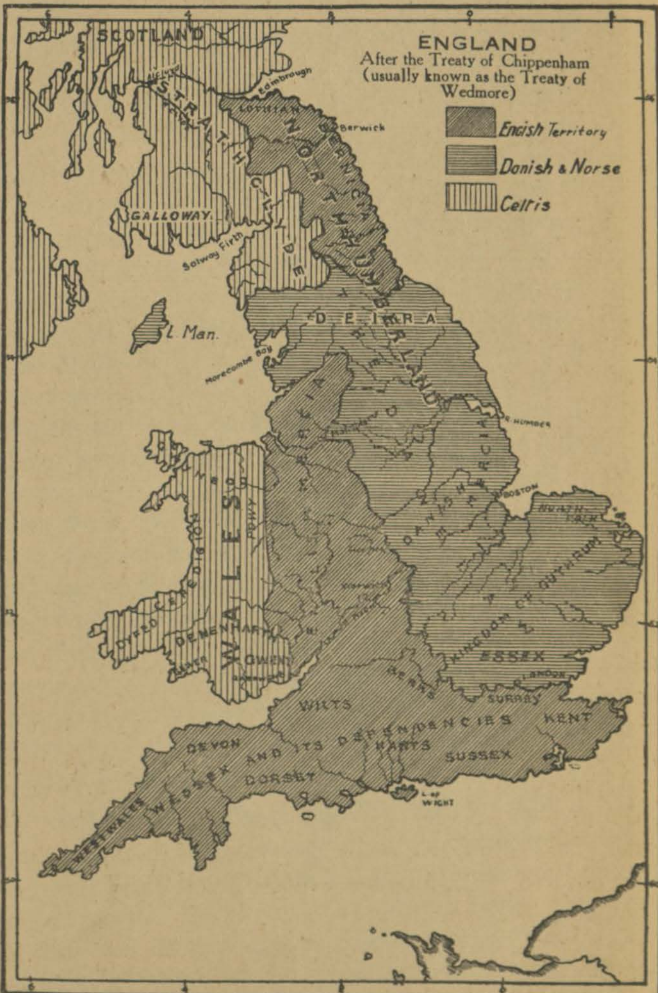
The Vikings. When the work of consolidation was proceeding under the leadership of West-Saxon kings the British Isles were threatened by hordes of adventurers from beyond the North Sea. Towards the close of the eighth century swarms of these Northmen penetrated into the islands from the west as well as the east. These men came from Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Frisia. They were an amphibious people tilling the soil and on off-seasons going out on the sea for trade and piracy. Their homeland of Scandinavia consisted of fjords or precipitous gorges in the mountain plateau through which tide would rush in very often for a hundred miles. At the bends of these streams and hills there were cornfields and wooden homes of the "Vikings" or the warriors. The people in these parts were trained to a hard life by nature. They were fond of war and adventure and on account of the practice of polygamy there were a large number of young men among them seeking fortune abroad. We are told that they went out from their homeland in three directions. First they went eastwards, entered the Slav countries as far as Novgorod and Kiev and laid the foundation of the Russian State. Later on they proceeded along the Dnieper, crossed the Black sea and threatened Constantinople. The adventurers who went eastwards came mainly from Sweden. A second route westward was followed by the seafaring men of Norway. They settled in Ireland, Greenland and discovered North America five hundred years before Columbus. Later on they came down to the islands in the neighbourhood of Britain, settled in the Shetlands and Orkneys and gradually occupied Ireland and the northern and western coasts of

Scotland and England. In course of time they made the Isle of Man a base of their operations and looked out for fresh fields in the coasts of England and Wales. The route these Norsemen followed has been described as the Outer Line, while another branch mainly from Denmark took what is known as the Inner Line. Their objective was in the direction of the north coast of Europe and the east and south coasts of England.

These invaders came like their predecessors, the Angles and Saxons, slowly on long ships with a view to obtain plunder. They found the English people carrying on their cultivation in rural areas leaving their shrines and monasteries which contained large quantities of wealth undefended. They returned home with immense wealth and brought to their own people news regarding the state of the things in England. The Vikings came in swarms, some times in big parties, to plunder the rich fields and the movement went on for more than a century. The first landing of the Danes took place in 787 A.D. Bands of these invaders entered the mouths of the rivers, captured horses in East Anglia or wherever they could be found and with their mail shirts and battle axes and better weapons marched irresistibly through the crowds of English peasants. In this way they first destroyed Northumbria, then Mercia and finally threatened Wessex. By their long stay in England the English people had forgotten their nautical skill and they had no weapons but shield and spear. The English farmers found it difficult to repel the attacks of the swift hosts of the Vikings or even to follow them up. England passed through these agonies for years together till Alfred the Great gathered sufficient forces to meet the danger.

Later on the Northmen changed their tactics. Instead of returning home with their plunder they wintered in the south of England in the island of Thanet in 851 A. D. Æthelwulf (839—858 A. D.), son of Egbert had a hard time with these doughty warriors. Canterbury and London were sacked and although Æthelwulf defeated them at Aclea in Surrey their march could not be arrested. In the midst of the crisis Æthelwulf died in 858 A. D. and his four sons who succeeded him, one after another, were confronted by a terrible catastrophe. The first two, Æthelbald (858—860) and Æthelbert (860—866) ruled for short periods. In the reign of the second their capital Winchester was sacked (860 A.D.). By that time the Danes began to settle in England. They came down from the north, conquered Northumbria and formed a settlement there. Edmund, the king of East Anglia was bound to a tree and shot dead with arrows. East Anglia, Essex and half of Mercia passed into their hands. They met with some resistance when they invaded Wessex. Ethelred (866—871) fought with them six pitched battles and won a victory at Ashdown in 871 A. D. He was slain that year and was succeeded by his brother Alfred who restored the prestige of the English people. He saved the country from a great disaster.

Alfred the Great (871—901). Alfred was a young man of twenty-three when he came to the throne, but he faced the situation boldly. He was endowed with great talents. In the lifetime of his father he visited Rome, and at the age of eighteen he assisted his elder brother Ethelred in the fight against the Danes. He had thus acquired some experience of statecraft and generalship before he assumed direct responsibilities of administration. The task before him was tremendous.


ENGLAND
After the Treaty of Chippenham
(usually known as the Treaty of
Wedmore)
Encish Territory
Donish & Norse
Celris
SCOTLAND
STRATHCLYDE
GALLOWAY
LOTHIAN
Edinbrough
Berwick
BERNICIA
NORTHUMBERLAND
DEIRA
Solway Firth
I. Man.
Moreconbe Bay
MERCIA
R. HUMBER
BOSTON
WALES
POWY
DANISH MERCIA
KINGDOM OF GUTHRUM
ESSEX
DEMENHARTH
GWENT
BERKS
SURREY
WILTS
KENT
WESSEX AND ITS DEPENDENCIES
HANTS
SUSSEX
DEVON
DORSET
WEST WALES
I. of WIGHT

The Danes had already become masters of Northumbria and Mercia and in the first year of Alfred's reign they engaged him in no less than nine battles. They pressed towards Wessex and led by Guthrum they forced Alfred to retire to an island called Athelney in Somerset surrounded by the waters of the Parrit marshes in the winter of 878 A. D. From this retreat Alfred organised a counter-offensive with new troops recruited in the three neighbouring counties of Wilts, Somerset and Hants. Early in May he defeated the Danes at Ethandun (Edington) and compelled Guthrum to come to terms. This was a turning point in the history of the Anglo-Danish relations. By the Treaty of Chippenham or Wedmore Guthrum agreed to accept Christianity and their respective territories were delimited. Alfred was left master of Wessex with Kent and western half of Mercia; the government of the Danes was recognised over the rest of England as far as the Tees, and this part became known as the Danelaw. On the other side of the Tees, in Bernicia still ruled an English king. By a subsequent treaty in 886 A. D. Guthrum surrendererd London and the adjoining districts. The boundary line between the kingdom of Alfred and the Danelaw was thus defined as from London along the Thames to the Lea, and along the Lea to Bedford, and then along the Watling Street to Chester. The acceptance of Christianity by the Danish leader changed the nature of the invasion. The danger to the English civilization and culture was thereby averted. Although Alfred was made to rule a smaller kingdom he did strengthen his hold upon the people by a number of effective measures. Guthrum not only became a Christian but along with him came larger numbers of Danish chiefs. The Christian population of the Danelaw were no longer afraid of losing their faith.

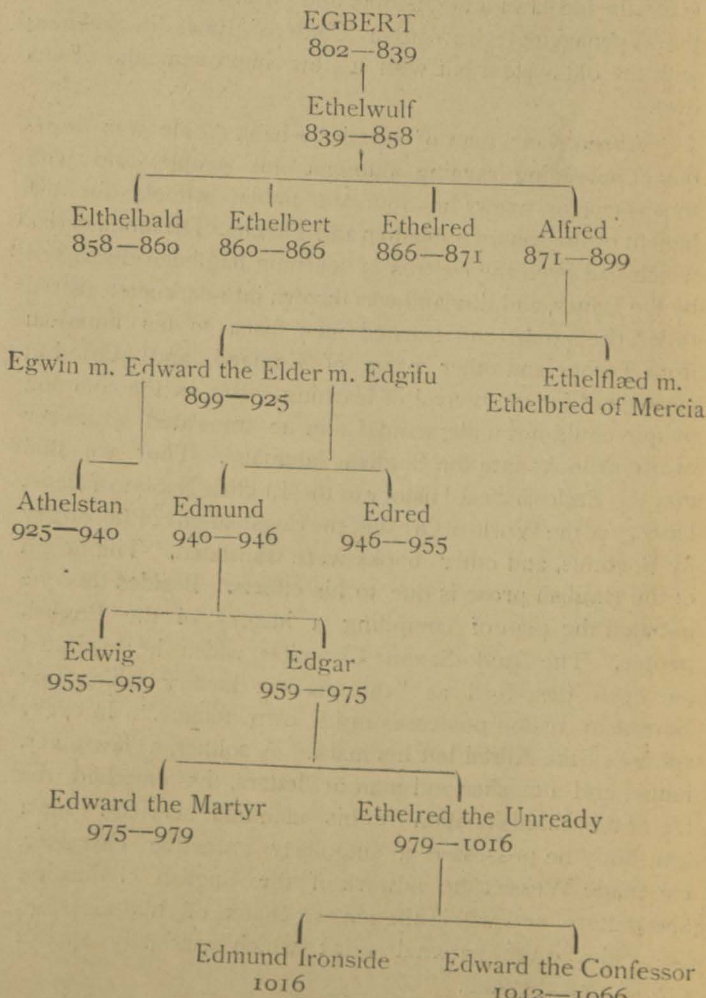
Alfred's services to the Nation. Alfred realised that unless the system of government were thoroughly reorganised and the national forces carefully marshalled it would not be possible for the English people to stand against the Danes. The Englishmen were not trained soldiers, and they found themselves in a helpless position when they were confronted by the prefessional warriors of the North. On the approach of the enemy the king had to call for a general levy of the male population or the Fyrd, and the services of his Thegns or personal followers. The citizens could not stay long in the field as they had to look after their families and to cultivate lands. Alfred devised a scheme by which half the men of each shire were allowed to stay at home, while the other half were trained for military service. This measure greatly increased the efficiency of the army.

The English people had forgot their naval skill and were so readily overcome because of their lack of a navy. As a wise statesman Alfred felt that the English people could boldly meet the Norsemen if they possessed a strong navy. He built a strong fleet of boats, and laid the foundation of the English naval power. For this great work he has been called the Father of the English navy. The people of the islands succeeded in defending themselves and building up a vast empire with the growth of its naval strength . The beginning was no doubt modest, but the ability to foresee the future gave Alfred the title of "the Great." He strengthened his forts, reorganised the army and built the navy. His genius was not confined to the work of defence and military and naval organisation. He conciliated the people of Mercia by r ecognising its local independence. He appointed his son-in-law Ethelred who was a Mercian as its Ealdorman, subject to his control.

In order to set up a sound system of administration he collected the old laws and customs and with the approval of the Witenagemot drew up a Code of Laws in keeping with the old system but with a few improvements of his own.

Alfred was a man of scholarly habits. He was desirous of spreading learning amongst his people, and with this object in view he founded public schools for the benefit of the sons of noblemen and Thegns. The monasteries which had been the centres of learning had been destroyed by the Danes, and England was thrown into darkness. Alfred called the monks and learned men back to his kingdom from Europe and other parts of England, and started a movement for the revival of learning. But as the common people could not understand Latin he translated a number of useful books into the English language. Thus we find that the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation of Bede, History of the World of Oresius, the Consolation of Philosophy by Boethius, and other books were translated. The origin of the English prose is due to his efforts. Besides this he initiated the plan of compiling a history of the English people. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which he instituted has been described as "the earliest history which any European nation possesses in its own tongue." In every sphere of life Alfred left his mark. A soldier, a law-giver, judge, and a teacher and man of letters, he enriched the life of the English nation by his manifold services. In a frail body he possessed a singularly attractive character. He made Wessex the bulwark of the English civilization and culture, and within the narrow limits of his kingdom he produced the national spirit which gradually spread throughout the land.

Winchester Dynasty.



CHAPTER VI

GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH KINGDOM.

Edward the Elder. Alfred died in 901 A. D. and after him came a large number of able rulers who restored the supremacy of Wessex and built up the kingdom of England. His son Edward reigned from 901 to 925 A. D. and he was succeeded by three of his sons one after another, Athelstan from 925 to 940, Edmund from 940 to 946, Edred from 946 to 955 A. D. Then the throne went to Edwig, the eldest son of Edmund, who ruled from 955 to 959. He was a young man of impulsive nature, and he was superseded by his brother Edgar who ruled till 975 and on account of his able administration got the appellation of "the Peaceful." The House of Winchester reached the highest point of its power under him, and the weak kings who came afterwards failed to maintain its position.

The claims of Edward the Elder were challenged by his cousin Ethelwald, the son of Alfred's elder brother Ethelred. Ethelwald collected a large force of pirates, adventurers and others, captured Essex and marched towards the Midlands. In trying to overcome him Edward pursued him into East Anglia belonging to the Danes. The rebel prince and the Danish governor of East Anglia were killed in 905 A. D. From this time Edward developed the policy of restoring the English power throughout England. The Danes who had got their right to rule the country known as the Danelaw recognised by Alfred were not sufficiently numerous to submerge the English population.

They were very few in number, and although they were occasionally reinforced by fresh bands from beyond the North Sea they could not stem the tide of nationalism which grew steadily in the northern part of England. Edward was welcomed by the English people in the Danelaw. He reconquered the country as far as the Humber. In his campaigns he was assisted by his brother-in-law Ethelred, Ealderman of Mercia, and on his death in 910 A. D. by his widowed sister Ethelflæd, the Lady of the Mercians. The brother and the sister vigorously carried on the campaigns against the Danes, and strengthened their position by erecting 'burhs' or fortifications in the old deserted strongholds of the Romans or the ancient mounds, or at strategic places. These burhs became capitals of the new shires. On the death of Etheflæd in 918 Edward assumed direct government of Mercia. By the time he had become master of all the Midlands, reconquered East Anglia, and placed his garrisons at Manchester, Nottingham, and Stamford. The Welsh kings agreed to pay tribute (922) and before his death Keneth MacAlpin the King of the Scots who had brought the different parts of Scotland under his rule chose him to 'father and lord'. Edward died in 925 A. D. He may be called the first king of England.

Athelstan (925—940). His eldest son did not survive him, so his second son Athelstan succeeded him to the throne. By his character and ability he increased the authority of the kings of Wessex. One of his sisters was married to Sightric the Danish chief of York, and on his death in 926 A. D. Northumbria was annexed. The kings of Wales also submitted to him, and the Welsh of Exeter were driven from the west beyond the Tamar. Constantine

the King of the Scots paid him allegiance. In this way he became the overlord of the whole of Great Britain. His influence spread beyond his dominions, and the great rulers of Europe were pleased to form matrimonial alliances with him. His three sisters were married to three important princes, one was married to Charles the Simple, the King of the Western Franks, a second to Hugh the Great, Duke of the French, a third to Otto the Great of the Eastern Franks. The court of Athelstan was also the resort of many princes such as Hakon of Norway, and the heir to the throne of Brittany. This was the most glorious period in the history of the Court of Winchester. The fame of Athelstan produced jealousy in the minds of the kings of Scotland. Anlaff, son of Sightric, who had fled to Ireland came back in 937 at the head of a large force, consisting of about 25,000 men. He was joined by the Danes, Scots, Welsh, and the English. Athelstan met them at the field of Brunanburh and scattered the allied troops. This victory has been commemorated in a famous song. It confirmed the position of Athelstan as the king of England.

The Age of Dunstan. On the death of Athelstan his half-brother Edmund was placed upon the throne. The new king was a young man of twenty. Early in his reign he was confronted by the rebellion of the Danes of Mercia and of the North. But he managed to bring them to submission. To counteract the hostility of the Danes he formed an alliance with the Scottish king Malcolm by surrendering to him the kingdom of Strathclyde, and thereby made the English and the Scots predominant in the island. His useful career was cut short at the hands of an outlaw named Leofa, who had entered the hall at Pucklechurch

while the king was holding a feast and stabbed him (May 26, 946). His brother Edred (949—955) who succeeded him was an invalid, but he did not lack the boldness and valour of his family. The Danes under the leadership of Eric of the Bloody Axe who had been set up as the king of the Danelaw rebelled against the English supremacy. Edred with the advice of Dunstan succeeded in crushing the rebellion and thoroughly subjugated Northumberland (954 A. D.). Henceforth the whole of England from the Channel to the Forth, was placed under one king. Edred died in 955 A. D.

The next king Edwig, the eldest son of Edmund, was a young boy of profligate character. He was scarcely fifteen when he came to the throne. He fell under the influence of an intriguing kinswoman, who proposed an unnatural marriage with her own daughter. The boy-king became so much infatuated with the girl that during the coronation ceremony at Kingston-on-Thames he left the banqueting hall to amuse himself with Elfgifu in the room of her mother Ethelgifu. The nobles got so much offended that they sent Dunstan the Abbot of Glastonbury and another ecclesiastic to bring forcibly the king back to the table. Ethelgifu, then a woman in her thirties, could not forgive this affront. It was she who was ruling the kingdom in the name of Edwig. The monastery of Glastonbury was suppressed and Dunstan was driven out of England. The ealdormen of the north and the midlands became so much disgusted with the misrule of Edwig that they set up his brother as king, north of the Thames. Edwig had further offended the church by marrying Elfgifu who was related to him by blood. The death of the young king in 959 at the age of twenty

brought the quarrel to an end, and Edgar now a young man of sixteen was acclaimed as the King of all England.

Edgar (959—975 A.D.) was the last of the strong kings of the dynasty of Egbert, and on account of the peace and prosperity that prevailed in his reign he was known as the Peaceful King. His supremacy was acknowledged by the kings of Scotland and Wales, and we are told that he was once rowed by six kings on the river Dee at Chester. In his dealings with the Scots of the north he kept to the policy of Edmund. The alliance of the Scottish king was purchased by ceding to him Lothian in addition to Strathclyde which had already been surrendered by Edmund.

The credit or Edgar's peaceful administration was due to his chief adviser Dunstan who is considered to be the first of the long line of episcopal statesmen whom England produced. The personality of this saintly statesman dominated the history of the period for about fifty years. Dunstan by his scholarship drew the attention of King Edmund while very young. He was appointed Abbot of Glastonbury, noted in the legends of King Arthur, at the age of twenty in 943 A.D. The monasteries at that time had been destroyed by the Danes, and Dunstan had practically to build his own monastery. He derived his inspiration from the monastery of Cluny in Gaul, founded in 910 A.D., for the purpose of restoring the discipline in church life. Dunstan introduced a new ideal in monastic life of the English monks, and the beneficent service of carrying the torch of knowledge among the ignorant, with Glastonbury as the centre. Archbishop Oda of Canterbury who had also imbibed the Clugniac spirit, endeavoured to improve the moral

standard of the clergy by insisting upon celibacy. The Abbot of Glastonbury was the chief adviser of Edmund and Edred, but he was deprived of his position and exiled from England by Edwig at the advice of Ethelgifu (956 A.D.). Dunstan remained in Flanders during his exile. He was recalled by Ethelstan, Ealdorman of East Anglia when he set up Edgar as King of the north. Dunstan was first made Bishop of Worcester (957) and then of London (959). When Edgar became King of all England on the death of Edwig, Dunstan was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, which position he held till his death in 988 A.D.

As Archbishop of Canterbury Dunstan thoroughly reorganised the church. Monasteries were filled with monks who lived a life of celibacy and strict morality. In this work Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, were very forward. They followed the example of Cluny and elevated the moral standard of the clergy. A large number of schools were established and children were instructed in religion and history. Dunstan was a saint as well as a statesman. It was at his advice that King Edgar admitted the Danes to his confidence. The king could have Danes as his thegns along with the English, and many of them enjoyed his trust. He revived and reorganised the hundred-courts, and it is said that a man could move across the island "with his bosom full of gold, and meet no harm."

English life in the tenth century. The English life could not but be influenced by the Danish invasions during this long period. The Danes were pagans and destroyed the monasteries and dealt hard blows at the monks. But when they were converted their character was changed


ANGLO-SAXON
BRITAIN
English Terry
PICTS
Forth
BERNICIA
STRATHCLYDE
GALLOWAY
NORTHUMBRIA
Man
DEIRA
Humber
Manchester
LINDSEY
Lincoln
MIDDLE ANGLES
NORTH
MERCIA
Warwick
SOUTH GYRWE
WALES
SOUTH ANGLES
HWICCE
OXFORD
EAST SAXONS
LONDON
KENT
WESSEX
SOUTH SAXONS
WIGHT
FRISHA

and the relations between the two peoples altered. Soon the Danes became good citizens, settled down under their own Earls, and lived according to their Danish laws. When they accepted the supremacy of the English kings they did not abandon their own local system of government. No doubt, there was one king for the whole of England, but for many years to come the different parts followed their own customs and laws, and formed sub-kingdoms under different Ealdormen or Earls according to historical and local circumstances.

In the Angio-Danish period the King enjoyed a shadowy power over his vassal chiefs. The kings of Wessex gradually acquired their predominance by strengthening their war-bands. Since the days of Alfred the military system had been reorganised, and the king's followers known as Gesiths or Thegns, were granted lands in recognition of their services, and on condition that they would render military service whenever necessary. These Thegns brought their own men in distant campaigns, and thus helped the king to meet effectively the invading forces. Two important changes marked the peried, the authority of the king increased and the simple freemen lost their old status. The Danish invasions made the peasant holders of lands seek the help of the neighbouring thegn who generally demanded that the peasants should work a few days in the week on his estate in exchange for the protection afforded. Thus the freemen were converted into bondmen. A bondman was neither a slave nor an independent farmer, he could not go wherever he liked nor could he be driven out of his holding so long as he fulfilled his obligations to his lord. A system thus evolved in England almost similar to the feudal system in Europe

with the king at the head of the organisation which was partly military and partly servile. England lost her old freedom but the change helped to consolidate the national life.

In other ways the English institutions underwent great changes. The growth of the king's power led to the neglect of the hundred-moots and the folkmoot and people resorted to the king's court known as the Witenagemot more and more. The land also which used to be held as, folkland, or land granted by the people at the original conquest, passing to the kinsmen of the holder if he died without children, came to be granted as 'bookland' by which process the owner of the land could ignore the claims of the kinsmen and grant land by book or charter with the consent of the king and his Witenagemot.

The Danes had to their credit the foundation of the famous five boroughs *viz.* Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham. These boroughs were military garrisons as well as trading centres. It was from the well-protected borough that the Earl ruled over a wide territory adjoining it. The borough system was purely Scandinavian and the English rulers adopted it in their constitution as a step towards efficient administration. When the Danelaw was conquered it was divided into shires, each round an old borough. The English shires were regularly organised in this period by reconstituting the old kingdoms such as Kent and Essex, or parts of some of the old kingdoms big or small. In the Danelaw however they were formed round the boroughs. The shires were larger than the hundreds and along with the growth of the shires the hundred-moot decayed and a new body known as the shiremoot came into existence. This

was practically the folk-moot reorganised according to the requirements of the times. It was attended by the freemen as before, but the number of the king's thegns gradually increased. The Earl and the bishop presided at the meetings of the shire-moot. The sheriff watched the interest of the king and presided at it when the shire-moot sat as a judicial court. He was also responsible for putting the sentences into execution. The shire-moot was the only institution in which the principle of self-government survived for some time. With the growth of the power of the king the shire-moot was gradually superseded by the Witenagemot which became a very important body. It advised the king on state affairs, selected a successor when a king died and sometimes deposed a king whenever he was found unworthy.

CHAPTER VII.

DECLINE OF THE SAXONS

Fall of the Saxons. On the death of Edgar government fell inlo the hands of weak kings. His elder son Edward was placed upon the throne with the help of Dunstan but his step-mother wanted it for her son Etherlred. He was four years on the throne, when he was murdered and in his place his step-brother became king in 979 A. D. Ethelred was a boy of ten, and his long reign was marked by a series of disasters. He was confronted by troubles at home and by the invasions of the Danes from outside. He quarrelled with the ealdermen regarding their power and had none to advise him. Dunstan died in 988 and since then England fell upun evil days, the young king was not worthy of his position. He alienated those who would have been of great help to him. On account of his foolishness he earned the title of the 'Redeless' '*i.e.*' the man without counsel. He lost the support of the great ealdermen when England was once again threatened by the Northmen. The Ealderman of the East Saxons was defeated by the Danes at the battle of Maldon in 991. The English king devised the plan of buying off the invaders by paying them a large sum of money. A levy was imposed upon the people to pay the enemy, and henceforth the levy of Danegeld became a regular practice. In 994 London was attacked by a joint army of Olaf the deposed king of Norway and Svend the deposed king of Denmark and this time also they were paid a large amount.

But Svend managed to get back the throne of Denmark in about 1000 A. D. and with the help of the Normans attacked England. Failing to stop the Danish inroads Ethelred tried to extirpate them by a general massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's day in 1002. The treachery was avenged by Svend by a series of systematic raids which Ethelred found hard to resist and ultimately he was driven out of England and Svend set himself upon the throne (1013). Ethelred returned from Normandy when Svend died but the Danish warriors chose the latter's son Canute as the King of England, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. Ethelred showed some ability by driving Canute out of Wessex (1014). But England was betrayed by a traitor named Edric Streona. Ethelred died in 1016 and his son Edmund tried to recover the lost dominion but he was assassinated and Canute became the undisputed monarch of England.

Canute 1016—1035. England had to submit herself to foreign rule for about two hundred years after the flight of Ethelred. It was in this period that the provincial differences were crushed into national unity and England became a well-organised state. Not only there arose one government under one king but the English lords were degraded from their old position of supremacy and reduced to a middle class. On the other hand the old class of servile and semi-servile cultivators was raised to a higher level. Although a foreigner Cannte, after securing his position on the throne, adopted the policy of reconciling the English people by treating them on the basis of a real equality with the Danes. The Danish troops which he brought for the conquest of England were sent home and only a small contingent of about 3,000 to 6,000 was retained as his house-carls who

formed his bodyguard. He tried to soothe the feelings of the English people by identifying himself with them. He spoke their language and began to rule according to the old traditions of the country. He issued a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws and appointed Englishmen to high offices. The administration of England was entrusted to four Earls, of whom the most important was Godwin, the Earl of Wessex. He enjoyed the greatest confidence of the king. Another Englishman, Leofwine became the Earl of the Mercians. Northumbria which was still in a barbarous state was governed by a Dane. The limits of the fourth earldom were not fixed, and they varied from time to time.

After the death of his brother Canute became the King of Denmark, and subsequently he annexed Norway to his dominions. It was not an easy task to rule the vast dominions round the North Sea. There were no bonds of unity between England, Norway, Denmark, and the Hebrides. Some of these countries were not sufficiently developed and did not possess stable a government. The remarkable powers of Canute were displayed in governing this extensive empire. He allowed local autonomy in each area as he did in the four earldoms of England. Canute was a Christian and utilised the services of the Anglo-Saxon churchmen in the work of civil administration. Some of them were sent to Denmark and Norway, and helped to bind the distant parts in close connection. As these teachers carried the civilising influence of Christianity England also gained by coming in intimate contact with the continent. "The old mental stagnation was broken up, and art and literature covered England with great buildings and busy

schools" says Green. Besides the growth of cultural and social union links of economic unity were forged. During the reign of Canute England obtained the inestimable boon of peace which helped the people to develop their agriculture. The fens and forests were reclaimed, wild animals were driven out, and new villages sprang up in the clearings. With the growth of peace, trade and commerce increased. A number of ports came into existence on the eastern coast, and relations were established not only with Scandinavia and the countries round the North Sea but also through Russia with Constantinople and the East. The Scandinavians also carried their trade along the Mediterranean. Traders came to England with goods from the Rhineland and Normandy. The chief articles of import were skins, ropes, ship-masts, iron and steel goods, silks, garments, costly gems, gold, ivory, brass, copper, tin, silver and other precious things. Even the articles of food such as cheese, butter, lard, eggs, swine and fowls were imported from abroad. In this period the city of London became an important trading centre. This had been fortified by Alfred with a view to protect England from the Danes. The citizens of London endeavoured to maintain the Anglo-Saxon dynasty from the attacks of the Danes and later on the Danes settled in London and along with the growth of its prosperity it acquired political importance, when the kings made it their official capital.

Canute became so popular that people forgot that he was a foreigner. He was a devout Christian and went on a pilgrimage to Rome. He presented rich gifts to the religious houses, protected English pilgrims against the robber-lords of the Alps, and became a favourite of

the monks. Under his guidance the adventurous Vikings gave up their old habits and the Nordic maritime peoples devoted their energy to the building up of a beneficent empire. The wandering tribes gradually settled fn England when they received large amounts of money as Danegeld. Canute had no necessity of buying off the Danes but he collected a war tax for the defence of the realm. It was from the practice of levying Danegeld that the system of direct taxation originated in England.

Canute died in 1035. The English Earls set his two sons against each other. Godwin, the Earl of Wessex, espoused the cause of Harthacnut while Leofine, Earl of the Mercians supported Harold. The people of Norway chose a king from amongst themselves. When Harthacnut was in Denmark a movement was set on foot to deprive him of the English throne. On his return to England in 1040 he found himself in the midst of hostile forces. He had therefore to devise measures to assert himself by strengthening his housecarls. The English people became tired of foreign rule and on his death in 1042 they offered the crown to an English prince, Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma.

Edward the Confessor (1042—1066). The return of an English prince to pcwer did not however restore the old spirit of the English Government. Edward had been brought up in Normandy, and was practically a foreigner in England. He spoke Norman, and in manners and customs he had nothing in common with the English. His smypathies were with the people of the continent, among whom he spent his youth. He filled the high offices in state and church by Normans.

The position of the king was not sufficiently strong. He had been brought to the throne by the powerful English Earls, and he could not rule the country without their aid. But he looked down upon the English nobility, and imported a large number of Normans with a view to counterbalance the influence of the English Earls. A number of Bishoprics were filled by Normans, a Norman named Robert of Jumieges was appointed Bishop of London and later on promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, a number of ports in Sussex were made over to Normans, and a Norman named Ralph was made Earl of Herefordshire. The king was surrounded by Norman secretaries and Norman chaplains. The Norman merchants received concessions for trade and there was a strong Norman party in the court. The English nobility led by Godwin, the Earl of Wessex tried their best to reduce the Norman influence.

Godwin was the actual ruler of England. He wielded the greatest power in England, and acquired control over the affairs of the country by making his sons earls in different part of England. The earls of Mercia and Northumberland were his rivals, and they became jealous of Godwin. The English people lacked the national sentiment. Attempts were made by both Normans and the jealous English earls to overthrow the Godwin family. The king had married a daughter of Godwin, his son Harold was Earl of East Anglia, Sweyn got an earldom in the west, and his nephew Beorn in Central England. Sweyn was a lustful young man. He put his father into trouble by seducing the abbess of Leominster, and by murdering his cousin Beorn. The King became awfully annoyed with Godwin when the Earl

failed to satisfy the king by punishing the men of Dover for harassing the attendants of Eustace, brother-in-law of the king, who had come on a visit to him. Leofric and Siward the two rival earls of Mercia and Northumbria were seeking opportunity of discrediting Godwin. On this occasion they brought about the banishment of Godwin and his family from England. (1051)

The departure of Godwin from the Court increased the influence of the Normans; during his absence William, Duke of Normandy paid a visit to England, and Edward who had no heir to succeed him to the throne is said to have promised the crown to him. The increase of the Norman influence was greatly resented by the English people and they keenly felt the absence of the one man who could have saved England from the vagaries of the strangers. The return of Godwin from exile in 1052 was therefore a matter of great satisfaction to them. The king could not flout the public opinion and restored Godwin to his earldom. The Norman placemen left England, but Godwin did not live long to enjoy his restored authority as he died in 1053. He had risen from a very humble position to that of the chief man of the realm. Originally a thegn of Sussex, by dint of his ability he became the king's Justiciar. He was Earl of Wessex and enjoyed the most extensive powers. Although the national sentiments were not very strong at that time Godwin was looked up to by his countrymen as the only champion of their cause. He is remembered as the first English statesman who was neither a king nor a priest. On his death the leadership fell into the hands of his son Harold.

Edward was a weak king, his only interest was in the church. He is said to have been at heart a French monk as he

had spent long years among monks in the continent. He is noted for his pious simplicity and gentleness of character, and was given the title of the Confessor for his interest in in religious matters. During his reign England was relieved of the Scandinavian menace and she could devote her full attention to the domestic problems. But Edward failed to fulfil the ideals of a national king. He disliked English manners and customs, and tried to impose foreign manners upon the people of England. The effect of his rule was to prepare the way for the Norman conquest. He left no heir and thus occasioned a quarrel over succession, and did nothing to unite the island administratively. Being a religious man he erected the glorious Abbey of Westminster and removed the dwelling of the king to its neighbourhood. He introduced better architecture in England with the help of Norman monks and builders. He died on January 5, 1066.

The Norman Conquest: The death of Edward led to a crisis regarding the succession. The only claimant of the old line was Edgar Atheling, a grandson of Edmund Ironside. But he was too young to rule at that troubled state of England. The Witenagemot therefore passed over his claims in favour of Harold, the son of Godwin, who had proved himself to be an able administrator in the time of the late king. Since the death of his father he had been at the helm of the Government, he had subjugated Wales in the name of Edward in 1063 and procured earldoms for his other brothers. In fact England was then under the control of Harold and his brothers, except Mercia where the family of Leofric was still in power. Harold had no claim to the throne, and neither did he step into the vacant throne

by virtue of the position he held in the realm. He could have carried on the Government in the name of the Atheling, but this arrangement did not appeal to the Witenagemot which in the absence of any strict law of hereditary succession chose the ablest man. The Witan had exercised this right before when Canute was offered the crown.

William, Duke of Normandy, considered that he had a better claim than Harold. During his visit to England in 1051 Edward is said to have nominated him as his successor, but he had no right to supersede the Witenagemot. Another story was circulated by William that when Harold had fallen into his hands two years before the death of Edward he took a solemn oath to be his man. This oath however had no value even if Harold had been forced to yield in peculiar circumstances. William strengthened his position by instigating the people of the continent against Harold on the ground that he was responsible for the appointment of Stigand as the Archbishop of Canterbury when Robert of Jumieges had not formally vacated the position. Moreover Stigand was considered as an anti-Pope. The support of the party of Hildebrand was thus obtained by the Duke. William began to make preparations to challenge Harold in the open field. Harold on the other hand was confronted by troubles at home.

His brother Tostig who had been deprived of the earldom of Northumberland on account of his harshness towards the people invited the Norwegian king Harold Hardrada to invade England. The combined troops appeared on the coasts when the English fyrd had been dispersed for attending to their harvest. The Earls of Mercia and Northumbria were hard pressed by Norsemen.

To save the northern districts Harold hurried with his housecarls and thegns whom he could collect, He met the enemy on the Derwent at Stamford Bridge and defeated the foreign host. It was the last victory that an English king won against a foreign army on the English soil. But this victory cost him heavily. While he was in the north the Norman Duke had landed at Pevensey.

Harold found himself in a critical situation as the English earls did not co-operate with him in warding off the Norman invasion. The services that Harold rendered to them by destroying the Viking forces were hardly appreciated. They lacked the sense of patriotism which was so much necessary at that stage. Harold's forces had been depleted at Stamford Bridge. With his reduced army he returned to London in four days. He did not wait for the arrival of the fyrd from the south-west. With the housecarls and the thegns and fyrd from south-east he was determined to offer resistance to the Normans. His army consisted mainly of infantry who fought with two-handed axes. But the Normans were better equipped. Most of them fought on horseback with lances and bow and arrows. They could fight from a distance and charge the opponents with great force. William had with him a large number of adventurers not only from Normandy but from Brittany and Flanders also. These men came with a view to share in the spoil. William had made preparations long since and brought to England about 12,000 men including about 6,000 cavalry. Harold's housecarls numbered between 2,000 to 3,000.

On account of his peculiar position Harold thought it wiser to be on the defensive. He drew up his army on a hillock six miles north-west of Hastings. The English

troops tried to protect themselves by a stockade but they could not stand before the volleys of arrows. The battle of Hastings, as it is called, was fought on the 14th October, 1066. Harold had so arranged his men that the Normans could not break their rank by two vigorous charges till they were tempted to break their lines in pursuit of the flying Normans who pretended to leave the field discomfited. When the English troops had come some distance from the hill the Normans turned back and threw the English army into confusion by a discharge of arrows. Harold and his men fought bravely but the Normans shot into the air and Harold was struck on an eye by an arrow. The battle placed the Normans in an advantageous position. Harold with his housecarls lay on the field. England passed into the hands of the Normans. Hastings decided the fate of England. Archery was superior to the rude methods of the English soldiers. Harold and his brothers were slain and only a few English troops went back to their distant homes.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS

Consolidation of England. The battle of Hastings made William master of England. An attempt was made to set up an English king on the throne but it failed on account of the division among the English nobility. Edwin and Morcar, the two great earls of the north withdrew to look after their own estates. They did not co-operate with Harold nor did they try to save England from foreign domination. William carried his conquering arms almost unopposed. The people of Kent and Sussex were dealt heavy blows for holding out, the royal city of Winchester easily submitted and the Conqueror crossed the Thames and wheeled round to Berkhamsted so that London was cut off from the north. As further resistance became impossible the citizens of London led by Edgar Atheling offered the crown to the Conqueror. The coronation took place on Christmas day, 1066, at Westminster Abbey. The claims of William were thus confirmed by the Witenagemot and he was acknowledged as the lawful successor of Edward the Confessor. Although the new king tried to conceal the nature of his conquest by an appeal to the convention of election people did not forget the fact that they had been conquered by foreigners. Within a short time the policy of the Norman King became known to the people when they found that the lands belonging to the followers of Harold were confiscated, the old

English landlords were removed from their estates, and the lands were bestowed upon the Normans in recognition of the services rendered to the Conqueror. In course of time Norman lords obtained the control of the greater portion of England. By a reference to the Domesday Book it has been found that three-fourths of the land of England passed into the hands of the Normans within twenty years of the conquest.

The sentiment of nationalism was so little developed that the conquest, confiscation of land, or the grants to the Normans did not arouse any serious opposition. But during the absence of William in Normandy in 10(7 the people rebelled against the oppression of the regents, Bishop Odo in Kent and William Fitz-Osbern in Herefordshire. The rising was suppressed by the king on his return to England in December. The feeling of discontent, however, spread throughout the country, and it took William sometime to restore peace. The authority of the new masters was challenged in every part. Risings took place in the south. in the midlands, and in the north. William crushed them one by one. The English of the north made a desperate attempt to overthrow the Normans by an alliance with the Danes who came only to plunder the defenceless people. For this action of the people of the north the rich Vale of York was devastated, the crops were destroyed, and men, women and children were starved to death. The marks of this cruel deed could be traced even a century later. William then passed on to Chester and suppressed the last rising of the English in the Isle of Ely. Edwin was murdered and his brother Morcar was banished to Normandy. Hereward who held out for sometime was subjugated in 1072. During the

troubles in the north Malcolm, king of the Scots, carried on raids in those parts, and he was subdued by William and made to acknowledge the supremacy of the Conqueror. England was thus made to feel the power of a strong king who succeeded in crushing all risings from the south to the north. The authority of one monarch was established throughout the land. The conquest thus proved to be a blessing in disguise.

Reorganisation of Feudalism. William had promised in his coronation oath to govern England according to her old customs, but in practice he introduced profound changes in every department of administration. The most remarkable change was effected in the land system of England. Before the conquest there were a large number of free-men who were not subjected to the control of any superior lord. The Norman rule forced everybody to accept a lord and there were none left free. The free-men sank into the position of villeins. In the Anglo-Saxon period the peasants in many places sought the help of big landlords as a protection against the Danish raids but there were still a large number of free, lordless peasants. William the Conqueror in order to enforce his authority compelled everybody to accept a lord who in turn had to render military service to the king. The main consideration with the Conqueror was to establish a system by which his hold upon England might be strengthened. He adapted the continental feudalism to the requirements of the new situation. The continental system made feudal chiefs demand the allegiance of their subordinates, and they could employ their strength against the king. William modified the practice by making every tenant pay homage to the king. He ha

allotted the lands confiscated from the English lords to the Normans who had followed him to England and he could depend upon them in case of any rising of the English. Besides making grants he took special care not to make any tenant-in-chief very powerful. Before the conquest there were a few Earls who dominated the whole of England. William not only confiscated their earldoms but broke them up into small fiefs. The new barons held lands scattered in different counties. They were therefore not in a position to collect their vassals readily for a rising against the king. Only in the borders where danger existed of raids of the Welsh and Scots a few County Palatines were allowed to retain their old freedom, *e.g.*, County Palatine of Chester and Shrewsbury and County Palatine of Durham.

The English feudal system was developed with a view to increase the fighting capacity of the king. All land belonged to the king who made the allotments in such a way that his right might not be disputed. The tenants-in-chief held land on condition that not only they would fight for the king but they would bring some hundreds of knights with them. They in their turn granted lands to their sub-tenants on the same condition, and the subordinate tenants also were empowered to grant lands to create under-tenants. The system thus brought about a regular chain of sub-tenants bound to render military service at the call of the king. A warrior fighting on horse-back was called a knight and when he received land on condition of military service had to do homage to his lord and became his vassal. The land held by the knight for his maintenance was called, 'knight's fee'. In course of time the whole of England was parcelled out

into knight's fees. These holdings were not of uniform size as no principle was observed regarding the distribution. The mass of the people became serfs of these knights, they had to hold land from the knights on condition that they would cultivate the lands of their masters for a few days and could not move from their holdings or give their children in marriage without permission.

The final shape which William gave to the feudal system may be found in the transactions of the Gemot at Salisbury in 1086. To this assembly he had summoned all tenants-in-chief, lay and clerical and all the sub-tenants who held lands in fief. All of them bowed down before the king and became his men. The sub-tenants thus became vassals of the king as well as of their superior lords. This oath made the English feudalism different from the system in vogue in the continent where the men swore to be faithful to their immediate superiors. The Conqueror reduced the chances of a rising of the barons by making their men swear direct allegience to him. If ever the king asked these men to forsake their lords they would have to do so. The English system thus introduced avoided the weakness of the continental system. A new type of monarchical bureaucracy was evolved, in which were combined the old English institutions with the continental orders. William organised all the parties to maintain the supremacy of the king and the English people gradually began to appreciate the value of a strong monarch. In spite of being a foreigner he won the goodwill of the people by his desire to enforce law and order even if he had to punish the Normans.

The Manorial system. The Norman conquest brought about a great change in the social and conomic life of the people. Important positions were held by foreigners

who came to exploit the subjugated territory. At this time of the conquest there were very few cities, the island mainly consisted of scattered agricultural farms. A typical English village was a cluster of houses on either side of a road near some stream or across a valley. In the midst of a number of villages stood up the big house of the lord, known as the Manor House on a mound surrounded by the demesne, partly cultivated, partly meadow, and partly pasture. The Manor House was very often a castle protected by an earth-work enclosure but at places it was merely a better dwelling for the lord or his steward than those found in the surrounding villages. The villagers looked up to the lord for protection, held land from him for cultivation, and rendered service to him at stated seasons. The peasant paid rent not as a price for possession but as tribute of political subjection.

The tenants were of two classes, free and villein. A free tenant tilled a virgate (thirty acre) or more of land, but paid no labour rent or fine on marriage of daughter or placing out of son. His tenure was not affected if he paid a determinate rent in money or kind. If he rendered service at certain seasons, such as seed time and harvest, it was known as *boon* service. But if a tenant was liable to to pay a large amount of indeterminate labour rent he was called a *villein*. Villeins were again of two types, virgaters holding a virgate of land, and others holding less. The latter class held small plots and were known as bordars and cottars. They were no better than slaves, and had to pay additional rents in money or kind whenever demanded. The position of the inferior class of villeins known as cottars is said to have been originated in three ways: first, some manumitted slaves were

granted small plots of lands; secondly, surplus members of virgrate families were also granted lands; and lastly sometimes men who had been subjugated in the course of wars were either enslaved or given small holdings. The cottars were "crofters and holders of plots" and played a very important part in the economic life of the manor.

A manor was the lowest unit in new England and it was in every respect self-contained. The peasants gladly submitted to the control of the lords as that was the only way of maintaining peace. They cultivated the demesne land belonging to the lords and paid them the rent they demanded. To settle the disputes in the manor the tenant-in-chief or his steward used to hold a manor court and administered justice according to the feudal law. All the villagers attended the court and helped the steward in his work. This was the only place where some element of self-government was still retained.

Each manor had a church and used to maintain a parish priest. England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was covered over with manors and towns under the new Norman aristocracy and each of these areas became a centre of social and financial activity. The manors were sometimes held by monasteries or colleges, but very often they were held by local gentry. It has been discribed by a competent writer that the manor was an organism and formed an important factor of the medieval English life. The king collected his revenue with the help of the lord of the manor. The Danegeld was collected by making each shire responsible for a round sum, which was distributed over the hundreds and the hundred officers collected the money from the lord of the manor

who realised it from his tenants as best he could. This system became uniform throughout England since the Norman conquest. The old village organisation was replaced by the manorial system, and the English people were reconciled to the foreign rule through the new system of local administration which was considered better than the old chaotic condition.

The feudal lords spent their time mostly on their estates and participated in the activities of the people. On account of the long peace that England enjoyed the manor developed into a self-governing society of men working on the basis of co-operation. Beyond the manor house which formed the main centre of the rural England lay the arable fields divided into a number of strips distributed among the tenants, some being retained by the lord. These fields were cultivated by the people co-operatively, each household supplying its proportionate share of labour at the time of ploughing and harvesting, and contributing its quota of ox-teams, under the supervision of the reeve as foreman. Each villager rendered whatever service he could either as ploughman, harvester, hayward for putting up fences, or filling some other position. The method of cultivation was very scientific, each man's strips were so distributed that he could have plots in areas of different fertility, some more some less. Some strips were left fallow to recoup their strength every third year, and very often crops were alternated, such as wheat or rye one year, oats or barley the next, and nothing in the third. A year's rest helped to restore fertility. Beyond the arable fields lay the common hay-meadows in which every villager had his share, and further afield was the extensive waste

consisting of wood and forest where the villagers sent their swine and cattle to graze, and where they would go for fuel and fodder. The people in a manor formed a self-supporting community living upon their own crops, getting their meat from their own cattle, fish from their own streams, covering themselves with home-tanned leather or home-spun cloth made from the wool of their own sheep. They rarely went outside their manor for their daily needs. And consequently the villagers knew very little of the outside world. They lived a hard life and had very little chance of improving their condition. But they were assured of justice and protection and were not at the arbitrary mercy of their lord. Life in these self-contained units was quite simple. It was dominated by custom which was rigidly observed by both the lord and his men, and this state of things continued till the middle of the fourteenth century. During the Hundred Years' War men began to acquire freedom by paying *quit-rent* in lieu of services, and by this process of commutation the number of free tenants increased. The Black Death which occurred in 1348 changed the entire outlook of the people, and the manorial system underwent a great revolution. An institution of about three hundred years was disorganised by the havocs of the great plague.

Forests and Forest Laws. The Norman kings were very fond of hunting. They kept large tracts of land, mostly woods for wild animals such as deer, hare, boar and wolf so that they could have good game. These forests mostly belonged to the king, but there were also forests belonging to private owners where the king had rights of hunting. We are told that in the

twelfth century there were no less than sixty forests owned by the king, covering about one-third of England. The Conqueror brought the special Forest Laws and Forest Courts from Normandy. It is described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that the Conqueror made large forests for deer and enacted laws therewith for the punishment of those who would kill a hart or a hind. He forbade the killing of deer and boars and showed great regard for the life of wild animals. The Forest Courts deprived the people of their rights without the forests and administered special laws in adjudicating upon forest offences. The punishments were very severe in those days both in common as well as in forest offences. The king very often could declare any part of land as forest and enforce the forest laws with great rigidity. William I created the New Forest as the royal preserve and made the inhabitants therein go elsewhere. The liberties of the inhabitants within royal forests were greatly restricted. These forest laws were disliked by the people and they said it was a divine judgement that one of the sons of the Conqueror, Prince Richard was killed by a stag and another his successor Refus was killed by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest. The landowners were forbidden to hunt within the king's forests without leave, and this grievance led to constant bickering between the king and the barons. King John was therefore forced to declare in the Great Charter that "all forests which have been afforested in Our time shall be immediately de-afforested." But the Forest Laws were in operation throughout the Middle Ages till they were abandoned in course of the Revolution of 1688. England won considerable amount of material and moral progress

when the process of deforestation started in the Stuart period.

Church Reforms. Since the introduction of Christianity in England the life of the people had been greatly moulded by the Church. Under its influence they became civilized and cultured. But the Church had lost its vigour and usefulness in the Anglo-Danish period. With the help of the Italian scholar Lanfranc who was made the Archbishop of Canterbury the Conqueror introduced a number of reforms not less valuable than his political reforms. All the important places in the Church were filled by men from France as in the days of Edward the Confessor. England was placed in line with the European countries which were then following the lead of the reforming Pope Hildebrandt (Pope Gregory VII) in enforcing church discipline. The priests were compelled to adopt celibacy in order that they might devote their entire attention to their clerical duties. As most of the men in those days holding high position were in the clerical order enforced celibacy was greatly resented. Moreover the priests who were living with their lawful wives had to give them up for fear of losing their living. The moral standard of the people suffered as they had to practise what they did not believe. The progress of the race was not likely to grow when educated men were prevented from entering into lawful matrimony.

The reforms introduced by the Conqueror infused a new life into the Church. Hildebrand had reorganised the Church on the continent as a hierarchy graded according to character, learning and merit. His policy was closely followed in England. The monasteries became centres of learning under the enthusiastic monks, and these

sacred places radiated their moral influence in their surroundings. The learned clergymen from the continent built noble church edifices and began to Latinise religion on the English soil. The old Saxon churches were replaced by splendid buildings which impressed upon the people the sense of grandeur connected with religion.

The most important reform however was the separation of the spiritual from the secular courts. The English society was an organic whole and there was no clear-cut division between the forces of ecclesiastical and secular orders. Bishop and Sheriff representing church and state, presided over the Shire Court, but William I at the advice of Archbishop Lanfranc made the Bishop hold a separate court of his own to try ecclesiastical matters. Canon Law was enforced in the church court, but as the jurisdiction of the Church extended over a wide field, such as felony committed by persons in holy orders, marriage, testament, slander, heresy and similar offences there were chances of conflict between the lay and ecclesiastical courts. The separation of jurisdiction however was a healthy measure and helped the evolution of a higher civilization. Both the State and the Church could develop their policy without interference. But controversies did arise when the church courts demanded complete independence.

Although William I allowed free development of the Church he did not sacrifice his sovereign right in the matter of higher appointments. The King retained his right to control the nomination of bishops and abbots. The church dignitaries in England held big estates and the State derived large income from the Church. Some of the barons held bishoprics and abbotships; the higher

officials under the crown were in many cases churchmen. The king's secretaries, judges, and many of his civil servants were connected with the Church. Almost all educated men generally took orders as a matter of course. The Church afforded an opportunity to the king to exercise his patronge and he could reward his faithful officials with benefices and bishoprics. The Norman kings were very jealous of this right of patronage. The great problem of the period was the adjustment of the ecclesiastical life to the national life. The separation of the church courts from the secular courts did not bring about a cleavage in society. The clergy were intimately connected with the ordinary people as any other lay official. The Conqueror improved the efficiency of the church by his reforms and successfully resisted the interference of the Pope in the affairs of England. He did not allow the Pope to deprive him of his right to nominate bishops and abbots. He however had conceded that the Pope could invest the new Bishops with the spiritual staff and ring on the understanding that the Bishops would pay him homage as their feudal chief. By this arrangement the Conqueror satisfied the Pope who had compelled Emperor Henry IV to come to Canossa. William also refused to do homage to the Pope for his kingdom. Since the fall of the Roman Empire the Papacy had been the greatest force for the promotion of civilization in Europe. In the Middle Ages when the State was simply the king and his officials, the Church consisting of the learned and the pious represented the people more adequately. So far as England was concerned there both the State and the Church were foreign institutions, but the Church served the poor and consequently won the

love and esteem of the people. The Medieval Church was a truly universal organisation and it predominated in the various activities of those days. It was feared that if the Church were allowed complete freedom then society would have been thoroughly enslaved to priesthood. The credit of resisting the claims of the Church to dominate over all departments of life goes to the Norman kings. The Church is a voluntary society and if it be allowed to control the State then a great conflict is likely to arise. The attempt to enforce uniformity in religious practices produced serious consequences. Only recently complete separation between Church and State has been effected. By refusing to submit to the Pope William I managed to keep England as a national state. Pope Gregory VII did not quarrel with him as he was busy with the Holy Roman Emperor and found that the Norman King was quite anxious to improve the ecclesiastical matters in England.

While studying the church question we may note that the parish clergy still remained unaffected by the change. The village parson was a poor Saxon of the same status as the villein. He did not receive any attention till the time of the Tudors and Stuarts when the benefices were conferred upon the middle classes. Gradually he won his position in society and he is now one of the upper class. In estimating the position of the Church Prof. Powicke says: "During the century after the Norman Conquest the legal and administrative organisation both of the Western Church and of the feudal state had developed rapidly. A spirit of ordered enterprise worked powerfully in each. Great saints, theologians, statesmen, and lawyers had been at work upon the life, doctrine,

and system of the Church; great kings, a lministrators, and men wise in the contents and practice of aw and custom had been at work in the government of kingdo .ıs."

Church and State.—By his wise policy William I won the goodwill of the Pope and maintained good relations with the Church. Lanfranc was his best adviser in carrying out the reforms. He realised that the Church was one of the greatest landowners in England, and that the bishops were enjoying the same status with the barons. He therefore did not see any reason why the clerical tenants should not pay allegiance to the king. On the death of Lanfranc in 1089 William Rufus, the son and successor of the Conqueror, kept the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury vacant for five years and drew the revenue of the see himself. He adopted the same device in keeping other ecclesiastical seats vacant and appropriating their income. The Archbishop was not only the chief bishop, he had to maintain the discipline of the church, and the people looked upto him as their greatest champion in their dealings with the king. The Great Council composed of the king's vassals pressed him to appoint a successor to Lanfranc, but the king remained adamant. In 1093 the heart of the obstinate king melted when he was overpowered by a serious illness. He feared that death was at his door and to amend his life he nominated Anselm a saintly old abbot to fill the vacant see of Canterbury. The old man hesitated to accept this risky position. But he was dragged to the king's bedside andE the pastoral staff was forced into his hands.

Anselm was an Italian born in Aosta. He was a great scholar and theologian. His theological writings

are considered as contributions of permanent value. But he was not sufficiently strong to maintain the balance between Church and State in England. William Rufus was a ruffian and he had as his adviser an unscrupulous clergyman named Ranulf Flambard, Bishop of Durham, who was later on appointed Justiciar and the chief official of the realm. It was with his help that Rufus managed to collect money from the country and to keep the barons under control. He systematised the doctrine that the king as the supreme landlord should get the fullest advantage of his position. The result of his policy was that the king alone grew rich whilst his vassals were impoverished. It was with his advice that the ecclesiastical positions were kept vacant and the feudal dues were exacted with great rigour. The Church had been a great check upon the tyrannies of the king, but since the death of Lanfranc there was no check upon the unruly monarch. The gentle and unassuming Anselm was no match for the despotic king and his unscrupulous Justiciar. His warnings went unheeded.

A dispute arose between the king and the Archbishop regarding the recognition of a new Pope. There was a schism in Europe over this question, the Emperor recognised Clement III as the rightful Pope while the greater part of the Church acknowledged Urban II. Anselm was not prepared to obey anybody but Urban. William Rufus on the other hand maintained that no Pope should be recognised in England without the king's consent. Anselm wanted permission to go to Rome to receive from the Pope the Archbishop's pallium but the king did not agree.

The matter was referred to a Great Council at Rockingham, where the barons stood by the Archbishop although the bishops had not the courage to oppose the king. During the absence of Anselm in Rome where he went in 1097 his estates were confiscated by the king, and Anselm had to live most of his time as an exile in Normandy.

Rufus was assassinated in the New Forest in 1100 and his younger brother Henry was selected as his successor by the barons. The new king was a man of different type. He had the reputation of a just and wise man. Anselm had supported him in his war with his brother Robert, but the Archbishop was not prepared to pay him homage. In pursuance of a decree of the Pope forbidding the bishops and abbots to receive investiture from laymen or to do homage to them with a view to make the Church independent of the State Anselm refused to pay homage to Henry. The controversy went on for sometime till a compromise was arrived at by which Henry gave up the right to invest the new bishops with the pastoral staff and ring but retained the right of receiving their feudal homage as barons. The elections of bishops and abbots were to take place in the presence of the king so that he could have some influence over their choice although the actual elections were held by the chapters of the cathedrals in the case of bishops and by the monks of abbeys in the case of abbots. The friendly relations between Church and State were restored by the accommodating attitude of Henry and Anselm. Henceforth the king controlled the elections of the church dignitaries with his *conge d'elire* (permission to elect). As most of the officials under the king were ecclesiastics there

was very little chance of conflict between Chapter and Court.

Administrative Changes.—The Conqueror got himself recognised as rightful king by the vote of the Witenagemot but he realised that in order to ensure good government in England the authority of the king must be made effective. He had succeeded in establishing himself in power on account of the division among the English earls. He consolidated the kingdom by breaking up the big earldoms and replacing the English landlords by the Normans. He also took care to see that no baron became too strong for him. In order to enlist the support of the magnates to his rule he kept up the practice of summoning the Witenagemot from time to time. But the body which became the most important institution of the Norman period underwent some changes in its composition. The members of the Witenagemot were the principal officers of the king, but the Great Council which took its place were the tenants-in-chief. This change was not considered so important as the powers of the Council were not substantial. The king used to summon the Council whenever it suited his convenience, but did not allow it to trespass upon his rights. The Council had no check upon the despotic rule of the king, on the other hand it was intended to strengthen the hands of the king. The old officials had been replaced by the Normans, the ealderman or earl assumed the title of count; and the sheriff who was an important official became the viscount according to Norman nomenclature. In the changed circumstances the hereditary offices disappeared, the earldoms became fiefs instead of magistracies. The sheriffs remained hereditary as viscounts. The king

retained the full powers in his hands and increased the authority of the central government by nominating officials for each shire, who were responsible to the king for the collection of revenue and the feudal dues. The Norman kings proved to be great organisers and their system of government formed the basis of later developments. William I and Henry I were great administrators, they built up 'the structure of a strong government in England when there existed no national sentiment to resist the disruptive forces of the local chiefs. They thoroughly subdued the unruly landlords and kept under control the new tenants-in-chief. The Norman king still remained the head of the nation, the supreme landlord, and the leader of the national forces. The increase of the king's powers against the feudatories helped the people to enjoy their liberties more and more.

The sheriff who was entrusted with the judicial, military and financial duties in the newly constituted shire was a representative of the king with almost unrestricted power. He presided over the shire court, collected and led the local fyrd, and was the chief revenue officer. Appeal could be made against him only before the king. But when the king was absent he appointed an officer known as Justiciar to perform his duties. This officer became the most important person as he became a permanent functionary in course of time.

In the administration of law the Conqueror tried to preserve the ancient laws and practices of the English people. He confirmed the laws which were presented to him by the representatives of the shires. His courts were attended by all the great men, archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, thegns, and knights.He however amalgamated

the English laws with the Norman System. "The English system was strong in the cohesion of its lower organisms," says Stubbs, "the association of individuals in the township, in the hundred and in the shire; the Norman system was strong in its higher ranges, in the close relation to the crown of the tenants in-chief whom the king had enriched. On the other hand, the English system was weak in the higher organisation, and the Normans in England had hardly any subordinate organisation at all." The Norman king brought the strongest elements in both together.

The system of government that William I introduced was based upon his personal influence. He was a despot rather than a constitutional king aud it was in the time of his son, Henry I, that the forms of a constitutional government evolved. The main contribution of the Conqueror was the growth of a strong government which kept down the tyrannies of the local magnates. The English people comprehended their national unity through their common suffering, they preferred one strong master to many weak ones, and strong rule to anarchy. They were saved from the confusion arising out of private wars and feudal disruption.

Constitutional Progress under the Normans.—The Norman period has been described as the epoch of the growth of a new administrative system. The popular rights were not extended nor were the popular institutions developed. The chief feature of the period was the increase in influence and power of the king. All constitutional authority radiated from the king, his household, his court and his council. The king was the chosen head of the nation and was also the lord paramount of the

land. He was the source of justice and constituted the highest court of appeal. On account of the irregularity of succession in the Norman dynasty the kings had to maintain the framework of the Anglo-Saxons. They could not set aside the old officials altogether although the higher offices were all filled by the Normans. The foreign superstructure was imposed upon the English subordinates.

The great officers of the king formed the first circle round the throne. They were the officers of the ducal household in Normandy with their nomenclature slightly modified in England. The chief officers were the Steward, the Chamberlain, the Constable, and the Butler. Some new officers appeared in England such as Justiciar, Treasuser, Marshal, and others. The Justiciar was in the beginning a Deputy of the King to perform his duties in his absence. But soon the necessity of a chief officer for carrying on business of State was felt as the King was a foreigner and was not familiar with the language of the people. This position was given to the Justiciar who was an ecclesiastic. The next important position was that of the Chancellor who served as the Secretary of State for all departments. He was the most dignified of the royal chaplains, and secured and administered royal revenue from vacant benefices. He used to keep the accounts and carry on the royal correspondence. The Treasurer received accounts from sheriffs and the Chamberlain had to do the work of auditor and accountant. The other offices were not of importance. The functionaries of the household were mostly hereditary and those of State were ministerial and their offices were saleable. This practice of selling ministerial positions continued down to

the thirteenth century when the King had to select men with capacity to perform State business. Each dignitary of the royal household was a member of the Curia Regis and Exchequer and also had judicial functions.

The Magnum Concilium or the Great Council was the second circle round the King. It was the old Witenagemot adapted to the new circumstances of England. Although all the tenants-in-chief could attend it, it was more a court than a council and it could hardly be called a national council as most of the tenants-in-chief were Normans. Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Knights attended it and occasionally a few burghers and citizens. There was no trace of representative members attending it. Meetings of general assemblies were rare events. The King used to meet the Council thrice in the year, once during the Easter at Winchester, once during the Pentecost at Westminster, and once during Christmas at Gloucester. In the reign of Henry I the Assembly was held at various other places. Stephen ruled without any council and signs of national decline may be traced from his time.

The Council had practically no independence, it met to register the decrees of the King. The Conqueror utilised it for strengthening his hold upon the people. With its consent he amended the laws, but it had no share in taxation. The main functions of the Council were judicial, the King held the trials before it, and the nominations to bishoprics were made in the presence of the council. As there were many ecclesiastical barons on the council the relations between Church and State were generally smooth. Only in the time of Stephen these relations were disturbed. One important function of the Council was the election of the King. In cases of irregular succession

as that of Henry I and of Stephen it was the election of the Council that legalised it.

The administrative system was evolved in the time o Henry I. We come across the important body known as the Curia Regis serving as the Supreme Court of Justice and as the body for the assessment and collection of revenue. The King presided over it and in his absence the Justiciar. When it transacted financial business it sat as the Exchequer Court. The departments of Justice and military organisation came under its review as every department required money. The money was received on a table covered over with a piece of chequered cloth and the name of the board has been derived from that accident. The officers of the household were members of this board with the Justiciar as President, and the members were known as the Exchequer Barons. The Board used to hold its sessions twice a year. The Sherifts brought their accounts which they submitted to the Exchequer Court and the records were kept in a pipe and hence it was called Roll of the Pipe as the Roll of the Chancellor was known as the Roll of Chancery. The Pipe Roll of the thirty-first year of Henry I is still preserved and it is a very valuable storehouse of information. We are told that the annual income of the King was £66,000.

When the Curia Regis sat as the supreme tribunal the Barons of the Exchequer became the justices of the Court. It was both a court of appeal and a court with original jurisdiction. It also could try criminal cases. The officers of the Exchequer were also deputed to assess revenue and audit the accounts of the sheriffs so that they could maintain their connection with the provincial courts. They also sat on the shire court when on a visit there.

The shire court was an old institution. It used to meet under the presidency of the sheriff, and all lords of lands, all public officers and the reeve and four men from every township used to attend it. The chief business of the shire-moot was to declare folkright in every suit. The Norman kings recognised these local bodies but it seems that they were resorted to more for the purpose of extortion than justice. Henry I restored the privileges of those courts as they enjoyed in the days of King Edward (1108). The same privilege was extended to the hundred moot for deciding disputes about small debts. The lowest court of the time was the manorial court under the presidency of the lord of the manor or his steward. There were special courts for the trial of offences of the forest laws which were enforced by the king according to his absolute authority.

Towns and Guilds. Since the Norman conquest there has been a rapid expansion of the towns in England. There were very few boroughs and towns with a population having specialised crafts and trades. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people who lived mostly in scattered rural areas. But when the Danes settled in England they followed the profession of trade, and the Saxons learnt from them commercial ideas. With the growth of this habit market-towns came into existence. Business was transacted in the new boroughs in the presence of the town-reeve. The towns which thus grew up were originally no better than villages with rights and functions similar to those of hundreds. The only town which acquired some importance before the conquest was London under its port-reeve and bishop. The new aristocracy that arose after the conquest had

higher standard of civilization which developed specialised trade and handicraft. Besides, the garrisons and ecclesiastical corporations added new areas round them. Thus we find that there grew up an embryo town in the neighbourhood of every new castle and new cathedral or monastery. Gradually the importance of the towns increased with the exchange of business between one town and another. The towns in the different parts had their origin in different circumstances, and consequently different types of organisation came into existence. In most cases the towns were no better than a hundred or township with its judicial and police functions, in the centres of trade it was an association of the guild organised for the regulation of trade, and in other places it was an association of burghers for the purpose of obtaining freedom from arbitrary imposts and external interference. Some of the towns belonged to the king and some to the earls or bishops, or the owners of manorial estates, and again in some cases ownership was distributed. In all cases unless otherwise constituted by special grant the sheriff was the principal officer. He collected the rent, and watched the royal rights in the courts of justice. He was responsible to the crown for a certain sum, and if he could collect anything more the surplus was his profit. The burghers later on took upon themselves the task of collecting the rent due by obtaining a charter to that effect either from the king or the owner of the town. When they obtained this right they became a corporate society. In course of time each borough thus constituted acquired other privileges.

The guilds were of great antiquity They made their appearance in England as religious bodies with the

object of forming confraternities for certain mutual service, such as funeral or burial ceremonies. Later on guilds were formed for looking after local welfare. Then came the merchant-guilds owning property, and possessing power to frame bye-laws for themselves. They had their guild-halls for the transaction of their business. The boroughs and guilds were mostly exclusive bodies with rights and privileges confined to a few. The idea of wider franchise came very late. The greatest advantage which the burghers and the merchants gained was the liberation from the financial control of the sheriff. With this right to start with they acquired the right to carry on the local administration freely in other departments.

The Domesday Book. William I held an inquest into the economic condition of England in 1085-86. A Danish invasion was apprehended and with a view to form reliable data for the collection of Danegeld the survey was ordered by the king in a great council at Gloucester. Commissioners were sent round to every shire, who collected the information from the barons, sheriffs, and representatives of shires, hundreds and townships. The survey was so thorough that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicler says that there was not a single hide nor a yard of land, an ox nor a cow nor a swine that was not set down in the writ. The report contained the name of each manor or township and of its present or late holder and other details including the number of freemen, villeins, the value of every holding, The Book gave a full statement of the power and resources of the vassals in England. It arranged the returns according to manors, which were again grouped by the holdings of each tenant-in-chief or vassal so that there was no land

without its lord. The study of the Book has proved very useful in getting a picture of the time. It has been calculated that there were 170 lay barons who paid a total revenue of £30,350 out of a total income from all sources of £73,000 a year. The income from the crown lands was £17,650, and from the ecclesiastical landholders £19,200. Most of the lay barons however were small landholders, as only 18 barons held lands yielding £16,000 a year. That shows how power was concentrated in the hands of a few barons.

By the time the survey was held twenty years after the conquest we find that the old Saxon earls and thegns have disappeared and in their place Norman nobility and knights had possessed of almost every fief and manor in the country. The important positions in the church had now passed into the hands of the foreigners.

The Norman Kings. William the Conqueror was a strong ruler. He ruled firmly his dominions on both side of the Channel. On his death in 1087 his eldest son, Robert became the Duke of Normandy, and his second son William Rufus succeeded to the throne of England. Rufus was a tyrant and everybody whether English or Norman suffered under him. But as he was freed from the burden of Normandy he could attend to the business of England. He extended the borders of his kingdom by conquering Cumbria from the King of the Scots in 1092 and in his time some progress was made towards the conquest of Wales. His brother went on the crusade to rescue the Holy Places in Palestine and pledged the duchy to Rufus for ten thousand marks in 1095; England and Normandy were again united. The cruel Rufus was killed while hunting in the New

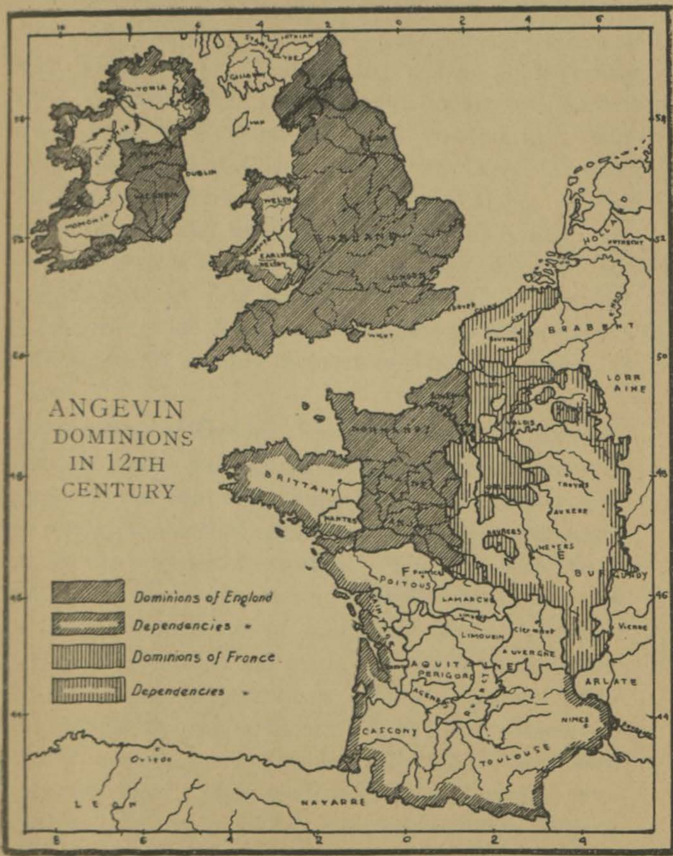
Forest in 1100. The English throne should have gone to his brother Robert but as he was still in the East his younger brother Henry was chosen as the King of England by the Great Council. Henry was a wise man and from the very beginning he tried to win the goodwill of the people by issuing a charter assuring them that he would abandon the evil ways of the Red King. He married a daughter of the King of the Scots who was a direct descendant of the great English King Alfred. This alliance satisfied the English people. He recalled Anselm and restored him to his position in the realm, and although there was some controversy over the investiture a compromise was arrived at to the relief of all concerned. On the return of his brother from the crusade he was involved in war with him, but with the support of his English subjects he won a great victory at the battle of Tinchebrai (1106). Henceforth he ruled both England and Normandy. The most important contribution of Henry was the development of the administrative system. With the help of his wise ministers he evolved a system by which people enjoyed justice and good government. His only son William died in the wreck of the *White Ship* in 1126 and to secure the throne for his family he made the barons promise to support the claims of his daughter Maud or Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V. But she had been married to Geoffrey of Anjou who was a person not very agreeable to the English people, and her eldest son was only a boy of two at the time of the death of Henry in 1135. The Great Council therefore chose Stephen of Blois, son of the Conqueror's daughter. Stephen proved to be an incompetent ruler and the cause of Matilda was taken up by her uncle,

David, King of Scotland and her half-brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester. On account of his quarrel with the Church Stephen had also alienated the English people. During his reign of nineteen years England suffered terribly, and people were groaning under the tyranny of the feudal chiefs. It was commonly believed that Christ and his saints were asleep. Stephen was defeated at the battle of Lincoln in 1141 and taken prisoner. Matilda who was elected as the "Lady of the English" was also defeated while besieging Winchester. The struggle for the throne thus continued till 1153 when Matilda's son Henry conquered Normandy and compelled Stephen to acknowledge him as his heir. On the death of Stephen in October, 1154, Henry II was welcomed as the King of England. With him begins a new dynasty of the Angevins.

CHAPTER IX

TO THE CHARTER OF LIBERTIES

The Angevin kings. England made steady progress in her political life during the sixty years under the early Angevin kings. Henry II governed the country from 1154 to 1189. He was a young man of twenty-one when he succeeded to the throne of Stephen. By the right of his father he was Count of Anjou; and by marrying Eleanor, the divorced wife of King Louis VII of France he became the Duke of Aquitaine, which made him the master of the rich provinces of Poitou, Guinne, and Gascony. As Duke of Normandy and King of England he became the most powerful potentate of Europe. He conquered Ireland in 1171 and was acknowledged as the overlord of Scotland in 1174. He thoroughly improved the administrative system of England and made the English law more comprehensive, equal and reasonable. The unruly barons submitted to his strong policy of enforcing law and order but he was involved in a great struggle with the Church in trying to remove anomalies in administering criminal law. The king was excommunicated and England was placed under interdict. The result was the humiliation of the king but the English people valued later on the importance of the reform he urged. As Henry had vast dominions in Europe he had to stay mostly outside England. The system that he built up to carry on the administration worked very satisfactorily and that helped to evolve a constitutional government in England.


ANGEVIN DOMINIONS IN 12TH CENTURY
Dominions of England
Dependencies
Dominions of France
Dependencies
ULTONIA
DUBLIN
MOMONIA
WELSH
ENGLAND
LONDON
BRABANT
HOLLAND
LORRAINE
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
NANTES
MAINE
POITOUS
LAMARCHE
LIMOUSIN
AUVERGNE
PERIGORD
AGENAIS
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
NIMES
ARLATE
VIENNE
BURGUNDY
TROYES
AUXERRE
NEVERS
BOURGES
NAVARRE
LEON
Oviedo

His son and successor Richard was on the throne from 1189 to 1199 but as he went on the third Crusade to the East and was taken as a prisoner on his way back he was for the greater part of his reign absent. During this time the administrative machinery set up by Henry II worked smoothly. On his death his brother John became the king. He was a man of fitful temperament; the barons and the bishops were alienated by his conduct and snatched from him the Geat Charter which has been considered the foundation of the liberties of the English people. John died in 1216 and was succeeded by his young son Henry when he was a mere boy of nine. By this time the different elements in England had been welded together in one nationality, the Normans had ceased to be foreigners and had begun to identify themselves with the people of the island.

Restoration of Order. Since the death of Henry I England had been passing through a state of anarchy. Stephen could not control the rapacity of the barons who erected a large number of castles and employed mercenary soldiers for the purpose of extortion. These feudal chiefs tortured the people in various ways, forced them to pay by starvation and imprisonment and kept them in places filled with adders, snakes and toads. It has been described in the contemporary writings: "They oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when these castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. They then took those whom they suspected to have any goods by night or by day, seizing both men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were." When

Henry II came to power the country had been ruined by twenty years of anarchy. It was therefore his first task to restore order in the country. Shortly after his coronation he ordered the expulsion of the mercenaries and the demolition of the adulterine castles. All the castles which had been built without license during the reign of Stephen were pulled down: no less than 375 castles were thus destroyed. The royal estates which had been wrongfully occupied were resumed, and to make proper collection of the revenue sheriffs were appointed. The new sheriffs were men of great local importance, and they helped the king in curbing the tyrannies of the turbulent barons. Those who resisted the orders of the king were very severely dealt with. He carried his policy of restoring order in such a way that by the end of the first year the feudal party was disarmed, the regular administration of the country was restored, the mercenaries were driven out, the castles were destroyed, and on all sides there were signs of peace and prosperity. The position of the king had fallen so low during the evil days of Stephen that the revenue had dropped to less than £22,000 a year, because the collection of the early parts of Henry's reign was about that amount a year. After making his position secure Henry II reorganised the government on the Norman lines.

Military Reorganisation. The power of the King depended upon his ability to organise defence and to crush the enemy and the evil-doer. His fighting strength was derived from the feudal levy consisting of the tenants-in-chief and their men, and the national militia—the fyrd led by the sheriff and the hired mercenary soldiers. The feudal levy was not a regular army and the knights supplied

by the tenants-in-chief could not be always depended upon. The ecclesiastical fief-holders used to pay in cash in place of knight's fee. During the war of Toulouse in 1159 Henry II allowed the barons who did not want to go to the field to get their military service commuted and to pay a tax of two marks on the knight's fee. It has been calculated that the king collected the huge sum of £180,000 and enlisted mercenary troops for carrying on the campaign. The mercenary troops were more serviceable than the ill-disciplined feudal levy and the practice of levying the scutage (shield money) became more regular. This practice served twofold object : the barons were excused from the unpleasant task of following the king wherever he would like them to take, and the king secured a steady income which helped him in organising his fighting forces according to his requirements. The indirect result of this change was that the English knights became less warlike as they missed the opportunity of getting a military training. It should be noted that the tenants-in-chief or the greater barons were still required to accompany the king but the sub-tenants or the lesser barons were permitted to escape from military service on payment of scutage.

On the occasion of the rebellion of the barons in 1173-74 the king found that the support of the people was a great asset to him. The freemen were faithful to him when the great earls revolted so he drew up a plan of strengthening the national militia. In 1181 he issued the famous Assize of Arms, by which he directed every freeman to epuip himself with armour according to his means. An inquiry was set up to collect information regarding the liabillity of each by oath of legal juries. By this process the people were armed and became an effective weapon

in the hands of the king against the turbulent barons. This national militia was organised in such a way that all the races living in England, English as well as Norman, were united into a body for the purpose of defence.

Development of the Jury system and Judicial Reforms. The greatest achievement of Henry II was in the field of administration of law and justice. The modern English system has greatly developed on the groundwork so carefully laid down by him. The Curia Regis had ceased to function during the reign of Stephen, and the justices had stopped going out for collection of taxes or attending the local courts. The structure erected by the labours of Henry I had collapsed. Henry II therefore applied himself to restore the old courts and to develop them as he thought necessary. The Curia Regis and the Exchequer worked in close union as before in the time of his grand-father. The Exchequer confined itself to financial business and took special cognisance of suits affecting revenue. The justices, however, were the same as dealt with other civil and criminal suits, although there was a special staff for each department. With the increase of work of the Curia a staff of trained lawyers was appointed as itinerant judges to visit the provincial towns and attend to the business of the local courts. The king found it difficult to attend to the business of the court and the judges also found it inconvenient to follow the king in his tours. The suits which affected the king began to be tried at a fixed place *viz* at Westminster and the committee taking cognisance of such cases was known as the King's Bench while the other committee dealing with the suits of the people was called the Court of Common Pleas. The complete disintegration of the three branches of the Curia

Regis into the Court of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Court of Common Pleas did not take place till the reign of Henry III but in the time of Henry II almost the same officers performed the different duties.

The procedure to be followed in these courts was laid down in the various assizes. The Assize of Clarendon in 1166 gave instructions regarding the way in which the administration of provincial justice would be remodelled. The justices of the Curia would visit the towns but the main work was to be done by the sheriffs. Further instructions were given in the Assize of Northampton issued in 1176. The country was divided into six circuits, each circuit was placed under three judges, one of these three was a sheriff of one of the counties in the circuit. Eighteen judges were appointed for the purpose but eight of them were sheriffs. The number of judges was reduced to five when the king found that eighteen was a large number and it is believed that all the five judges had to sit 'in Banco' and when any question became too hard for them to decide they referred it to the king in person. The judicial supremacy of the king was not in any way limited. The Curia Regis was held in his presence, and the judges had to follow him or in his absence the justiciar. This was very troublesome to the ordinary suitors. The Magna Carta abolished this practice and fixed the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster.

The visit of the itinerant justices to the shire courts changed the old Anglo-Saxon judicial system. The shire-moot consisted of the lords of land and their stewards, and the representatives of the townships, the parish priest the reeve and four men from each. It used to meet only twice a year, but subsequently it met several times possibly

on account of the increase in the number of smaller suits. The changes in the judicial system affected the power of the sheriff. Originally they presided in the county court and were responsible for the maintenance of peace. They also managed the pleas of the crown as royal justices. The sheriffs as well as the itinerant justices could receive and act on the presentment of the grand juries. But from 1170 their power began to be limited. According to the Assize of Northampton they became subordinate to the justices, and in 1194 they ceased to be justices. Coroners were elected to keep the pleas of the crown, but by the Great Charter of 1215 both sheriff and coroner were forbidden to hold pleas.

When the itinerant justices attended the shire-moot it was attended by a more complete representation of the county. Besides the reeve and four men of the townships there came twelve men from each of the chartered boroughs. Under the Assize of Clarendon twelve men from each hundred and four from each township were required to report to the justices about all cases, criminal, civil or fiscal. In this way the jury system originated. The jurors were representative in character, their report was in a way the views of the community as to the fact in question. The method adopted in the proceedings of the court was a continuation of the old Saxon system as we find that a number of the sworn witnesses had to appear before the sheriff and the judges, bringing the testimony of the community. The survey of Domesday was held with the sworn evidence of representative men. Henry II further developed the system and it is considered to be an improvement upon the old practice of trial by ordeal or battle. The Grand Jury as it was called consisted

of twelve persons who declared on oath as to which of the two litigants had the greater right. If they did not agree others had to be called in till a unanimous verdict was obtained. In civil cases first four lawful knights were chosen to elect twelve recognitors who had to appear before the court. In other cases the sheriff could nominate the recognitors. The Assize of Clarendon defines the procedure in criminal cases, the Assize of Northampton reduced the jury of presentment to a still more definite form on a distinct representative basis. The trial by ordeal was abolished in 1215 and from that time begins the system of Petty Jury which was allowed to disprove the report of the Grand Jury. This procedure was gradually dropped when sufficient number of men could not be had to swear to the truth or falsity of a charge. The modern jury does not represent the previous knowledge of the case but they are merely judges of the fact according to the evidence produced by the witnesses. The early jury system however introduced the principle of representation which has developed in recent times. The judicial reforms introduced by Henry II no doubt increased the income of the king but the gain to the people was comparatively very great. "Henry's new justice was popular" says Trevelyan "and was eagerly sought after. Cruelty, violence and oppression were things of every day in a society slowly emerging from barbarism, and the royal writ at least afforded to the defenceless occasional help and remedy." It was not only the disinterested desire to give his people true justice, says the same writer, that the royal courts were organised, but because they were a means of extortion to fill his ever gaping Exchequer.

The new judicial procedure shaped the future o. English society and politics in a different way. As the central courts grew in power and the justices from the Curia Regis visited the provincial courts the system of 'Common Law' gradually evolved out of the chaos of the different local customs. In the Shire and Hundred Courts as well as in the feudal and ecclesiastical courts justice was administered by men not sufficiently trained and consequently the procedure was not uniform. But the justices of the Curia were mostly trained ecclesiastics and lawyers. They began to interpret the customs in a uniform method throughout the land, and it was through the interpretations and rulings that the system of Common Law was developed, which forms the most distinctive feature of the English life. The lawyers in those days received their education in the Universities of Bologna and Paris and their main subjects of study were the Civil and Canon Laws as followed in Europe on the basis of the Roman jurisprudence. But the English barons adhered to their old customary laws which had been in force since the Danish rule. The lawyers therefore had to interpret the customary laws according to the method and spirit of the Civil and Canon Law which they had learned in the continent. The English Common Law thus grew out of their decisions, and consisted of a series of precedents and cases for the lawyer to interpret.

Conflicts with the Church Courts. Since the time of William the Conqueror the ecclesiastical courts had been separated from the secular courts, but the right given to the Church led to many anomalies. The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts were sufficiently comprehensive, the king found that the church courts could try cases of

criminal offence committed by a clergyman. The ecclesiastical court could inflict only light punishment such as imprisonment and ex-communication and therefore clerks committing crimes which deserved capital punishment did not receive the same justice as the lay men. During the reign of Stephen as many as a hundred clerks guilty of murder escaped punishment. In order to remove this anomaly Henry II in the Great Council at Clarendon promulgated the famous 'Constitution' regulating the relationship between the Church and the Crown. The most important provision of the Constitution was that all persons accused of crimes were to be first produced before the king's courts and if they were proved to be ecclesiastics they would be sent to the spiritual courts to be degraded from their order, and then they should be sent back to the king's court to be dealt with as laymen. This was a measure to place the criminals on the same footing whether they be laymen or clergymen. These proposals were not particularly prejudicial to the Church, and the king argued that this was quite in keeping with the ancient usage. Even a large number of the bishops acknowledged the reasonableness of the procedure. But Thomas Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury took up a different attitude.

Thomas Becket was the son of a Norman landowner and when he was Archdeacon of Canterbury King Henry on his accession to power appointed him his Chancellor. In that position he served the king faithfully and in recognition of his ability he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. As the head of the English Church he did not like to place the clergymen under the control of laymen. He strongly protested against the Constitution of Clarendon which the king had drawn up on the report of a number of

barons who had been directed to hold an inquest on the ancient customs of the land. The king held that the Church courts encroached upon the business of the Crown courts, and thereby reduced the revenues of the king. Secondly by failing to administer effective punishment they encouraged crime. Further the Church courts in civil actions could not be expected to be impartial. The greatest difficulty in regulating trials in Church courts was that there was no appeal to the royal courts, as the Church laws allowed appeal only to the Pope. The Constitution of Clarendon did not encroach upon the rights of the Church, it only laid down that when a man in holy orders had committed a crime he should first be placed before a lay court to prove his claim as a clergyman, and if he succeeded in proving his right to be so tried he would be handed over to the Church court for trial, and if found guilty there then he should be brought back to the king's court for sentence. Henceforth a bitter conflict started between the king and the Archbishop. The king received the suppprt of the barons and a large number of the bishops. Becket was presuaded to acquiesce but when the king began to persecute him in various ways and when he was asked to render an account of all the money he had received from the king when he was Chancellor and declared a traitor for not appearing before a lay court he fled to France (1166).

In his exile Becket tried to enlist sympathies of the Pope, but at that time on account of schism in the Roman Church there were two Popes. Pope Alexander III had also been driven out of Rome and he was then living in France. He was not in a position to lose the goodwill of Henry II, and consequently could not render any help to Becket.

The exiled Prelate was very popular with the English people. He was the only man who could support the people against the tyrannies of the barons and a man of this type was particularly needed by the king. In 1170 to ensure the succession in his family the king held the ceremony of crowning his eldest son as his heir, and Roger, Archbishop of York, performed the function. Becket excommunicated the bishops taking part in the ceremony as the Archbishop of Canterbury alone had the right to crown. In order to ratify the ceremony the king made up a truce with the enraged Prelate. Becket returned to England on December 1, 1170, amidst the applause of the people. He however did not absolve from excommunication the bishops who had taken part in the coronation ceremony. The aggrieved bishops represented the matter to the king who was then in Normandy. The king in an excited mood wanted to be relieved of this upstart clerk. Four knights took the king in his words and on December 29 assassinated Becket in the Canterbury Cathedral. The murder created a great indignation among the people, the king who was trying to uphold the cause of justice lost in the conflict on account of the rashness of his men. Pope excommunicated the king who had to obtain absolution by making a compromise. The Church courts retained their jurisdiction over the criminous clerks, and anybody who could read one of the psalms in Latin could claim 'benefit of clergy'. Any educated man could save his neck from the gallows after committing a grave crime by claimiing the benefit. The compromise weakened the power of the king and maintained a great evil of the Middle Ages. But in other matters the Church submitted to the royal courts. The king controlled the election of the prelates as

before and all disputes regarding property between clerks and laymen were tried by the lay courts.

The Beginning of Self-Government. On the death of Henry II his son Richard I succeeded him. The new king was a cavalier and a man of generous impulses. Shorly after his coming to the throne he joined the Third Crusade to relieve the places connected with the early history of Jesus Christ. The Christians held these places sacred. They were within the Roman Empire till 637 A.D. when the Arabs conquered the northern regions under the influence of their new religion of Islam. The Saracens developed a civilization which was superior to that of the Europeans in those days. They carried their conquering arms round the Mediterranean, and invaded Spain. They spread a new culture in Europe from their centres of learning specially the university of Cordova. Charles Martel rolled back the tide of Saracenic invasion, but the impact of Islam upon Christendom widened the outlook of the Europeans. The Moslems ruled over Jerusalem but did not put any obstacles in the way of the pilgrims to visit the holy places. But during the schism in the Christian Church the pilgrims from Europe belonging to the Western Church were persecuted at the instance of the priests of the Greek Church who had received the permission to guard those places. The condition of things became worse when Jerusalem was conquered by the Seljukian Turks in 1071. On an appeal from the Emperor Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrant) formed a scheme of re-uniting the Eastern and Western churches under the Pope, and his successor Pope Urban II sent a crusade to rescue Jerusalem. Under the leadership of Godfrey de Bouillon Jerusalem was recovered and a Christian kingdom established there

n 1100. But the Christians failed to establish an orderly government, and Syria passed into the hands of the Moslems. A second crusade was organised in 1147 without any success. The great Sultan Saladin destroyed Jerusalem in 1187. In the third crusade Richard I took a prominent part. He left England in 1190 with 40 ships and about 8,000 men. After concluding a truce in October, 1192, he left Palestine but on the way he was taken prisoner in Germany by Leopold of Austria. He was released on payment of a heavy ransom of £100,000. The cost of the Crusade and the heavy ransom had to be supplied by the English people. Richard returned to England only for a short time. Most part of his reign he remained in Normandy fighting against the king of France.

Richard was an absentee king, and his justiciar ruled the country in his absence. This provided an opportunity for giving full trial to the system inaugurated by Henry II. In the beginning William Longchamps, Bishop of Ely and Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham were appointed Justiciars, but these dignitaries quarrelled between themselves, and both of them were removed from office. In 1194 Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury filled the position. He was a statesman of consummate ability and very ably carried on the administration of England till 1198. Richard was shot dead while laying siege to the castle of Chalus in the Limousin in 1199. To meet the heavy expenses of the king more money had to be found and extra taxes had to be imposed. The methods adopted to find money were helpful to the growth of power of the local bodies. Offices were sold and William the Lion of Scotland obtainned freedom for his country by paying £10,000. Various towns were granted charters with the right to elect their

officia's. London which was growing in importance obtained the right of electing its Mayor. The period was marked by the movement of self-government among the English towns.

Besides this grant of autonomy to the towns Hubert Walter helped the development of the political life of the English people in another way. He started the new policy of trusting the middle classes. He employed the knights in the rural areas, who had settled among the people, more and more for county business. Instead of depending upon the sheriffs who were mainly recruited from the barons and constituted the privileged classes in those days, he began to entrust the local gentry with offices of responsibility. He asked the local gentry coming to the shire-courts to elect Coroners to keep the pleas of the Crown. These elected officials had to defend the judicial and financial rights of the king in the shires. The next step in extending the principle of election was to order that the juries instead of being nominated by the sheriffs should be chosen by a committee of four knights. This principle of representation gave a distinct share in the administration of the country to the gentry, and when this was further carried the idea of a representative Parliament dawned.

Magna Carta. Richard's brother John who succeeded him to the throne was a man of variable temper. He lost the sympathies of the people when Arthur, the young son of his brother Geoffrey was mysteriosly put to death (1202) in the castle of Rouen. The second cause of his unpopularity was the loss of the French dominions (Normandy and Poitou) in the conflict with the French king in 1204. He further alienated the people by provoking a quarrel with the Pope. The system of government

developed since the time of Henry II gradually taught the people to resist the despotism of the king. Feudalism itself was a great curb upon the absolute power of the king, as it has been described as an elaborate-balance of defined rights and duties shared by the king and the various holders of land. Whenever the king asked for any service or aid the feudal barons resisted his extraordinary demands and wrested from him some rights for service rendered. In this way the English people made progress in constitutional rights by forcing the unwilling kings to yield bit by bit. The feudal chiefs still possessed the martial valour and so the kings could not easily ignore their demands. The constitutional movement became stronger with the development of the system of Common Law. It was difficult for the king to resist any right when it was urged on the basis of the old custom. The combination of feudalism with Common Law has produced the English constitution.

King John had roused the opposition of all the parties in England, barons, knights, church and the common people by his tyrannical ways. He had abused his powers by extortion, injustice and diabolical cruelty. The prestige of the crown had greatly suffered on account of the loss of the continental territories, and he further lowered himself in the estimation of his people when he compromised his position by accepting the crown at the hands of the Papal legate. He had agreed to hold England as a fief from the Pope and to pay a tribute of 1,000 marks a year. The dispute had arisen since the death of Hubert Walter in 1205 when the Church and the king could not agree to the appointment of his successor. The matter was referred to the Pope who did not accept any of the nominees of the

parties and named Stephen Langton as the Archbishop of Canterbury. John stood upon his rights by refusing to accept the nominee of the Pope. The Pope excommunicated him and placed England under interdict. For five years the English people were deprived of public religious services. But when John was confronted by a rebellion at home and invasion from France he submitted to the Pope and recognised Stephen Langton as the Archbishop of Canterbury (1213). The next year John suffered a great defeat at the hands of the French at Bouvines. On his return to England he found to his great dismay a formidable combination formed against him. Stephen Langton had joined the barons and along with them was Mayor of London. They compelled the king to sign the Great Charter submitted to him at Runnymede on the Surrey side of the Thames (June 15, 1215)

The Magna Carta is the first great step on the constitutional road. Throughout the thirteenth century people asked the kings who tried to brush aside the popular rights to confirm the Great Charter. For the first time in English history the people had stood together in demanding their rights from an absolute ruler and the docoument conceding their just demands has been aptly called the Charter of Liberties. It is a heavy document consisting of sixty-three clauses, and is supposed to have been the handiwork of Langton. The provisions of the Charter were not sufficiently comprehensive. Neither representative government nor control over the purse was conceded by this Charter. It reaffirmed the rights enjoyed by the feudal chiefs which the previous kings generally promised to respect at the time of their coronation. The two provisions which are greatly valued are the control

put upon the powers of the king regarding the levying of the scutage or aid and the right to the freemen to demand judgment by equals. These rights were granted no doubt to a limited class, but other classes have come to enjoy them in course of time. Article 12 enjoins that, no scutage or aid is to be levied upon our kingdom except by the common counsel of our kingdom, which generally took the form of the Great Council of the barons. Although it was a right granted to the barons it was a great advance upon the existing system of arbitrary exaction by the king. This marks the beginning of common action and common control exercised by the magnates. Article 39 was a definite right granted to the people. It lays down :

"No freemen shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor will we send upon him except by the lawful judgement of his equals or by the law of the land."

This right was conceded to the freemen but as the villeins were gradually promoted to the rank of the freemen the right became a valuable national right.

The Church was granted the right of free election and the merchants were guaranteed freedom of trade on payment of regular dues. The villeins also were also assured that although they would be taxed and fined at the discretion of the king they would not be deprived of the means to earn their livelihood, such as plough-team, cart, horse or tools. One of the important provisions ran to the effect that the privileges granted to one class should be extended to their own men. Article 60 says : "Further all those aforesaid customs and liberties, which we have granted to be observed on our part towards our own men, every

one in the kingdom, both cleric and lay, will observe on their own part toward their own men."

Finally a committee of twenty five barons was empowered to enforce the rights if the king failed to respect them. This was right granted to the barons to rebel against the king in case of failure to stand by the Charter. In spite of this definite clause King John repudiated the Charter with the support of the Pope. But on his death the crown passed into the hands of the infant son who had to confirm the Charter. The rebellious barons assembled at the field of Runnymede obtained for England the great Charter of her liberties which served as the foundatian of her magnificent constitutional edifice. The importance of the document was not appreciated by the contemporaries. It was Sir Edward Coke who first explained its singnificance at the time of James I.

England in the Early Middle Ages. In the course of a century and half since the Norman Conquest England was thoroughly transformed. The Normans came from the same stock as the Danes but by coming in contact with the Franks they became Christians and acquired valuable experience in administration. The Norman kings, barons and learned priests brougnt a wider culture to England, which made the social life in the island an altogether new thing. French was the language of the cultured society, and Latin was used in religious services. The Anglo-Saxon languge was used by the common people, but it did not command respect in the upper circles. People imitated the Normans in their manners and customs as the upper layer of society was Norman. The Church in the Middle Ages was an international institution, and the church dignitaries came from all parts of Europe. But as

Bishoprics and Abbeys carried with them vast estates their positions were mostly filled by Normans. The prelates were the best educated in society and consequently they were appointed to hold high offices in the State as well. The Church therefore was closely mixed up with the State. The Conqueror saw the danger of placing the State entirely under the control of the Church and therefore he did not agree to the nomination of the bishops and abbots by the Pope, and separated the church courts from the crown courts. But this separation led to many evils and the attempt to remedy them produced a great disturbance. The Church was a highly organised body and the State had to yield to it although the attitude of the king was absolutely sound. The prelates like Lanfranc, Anselm Becket, Hubert Walter and Stephen Langton shaped the policy of the State and they left their permanent mark upon the social and political life of the people.

Christianity was a great factor in Medieval Europe. The papacy was the chief bond of unity when there was nothing else to bring the divergent races together. England occupied a detached corner of Europe and it was not till the Norman period that she came in touch with the Christian world. She did not take any part in the first two crusades to recover the holy places. But by the end of the twelfth century she had acquired a position for herself in Christendom and the English king Richard I played the most prominent part in the third crusade. These struggles with the Asiatics brought immense good to Europe. The Saracens and the Seljukian Turks had developed a civilization much superior to that of Europe in those days, and the people in the Western world enriched their mentality and broadened their outlook by coming in contact with these

cultured Asiatics. The Crusades "brought many of the ablest men of the half developed society of the West into fruitful contact with the trade, arts, science and knowledge of the East." (Trevelyan). The experience of the East awakened the adventurous spirit of the youthful nationalities of Europe and from that we find rapid progress in the trade and commerce of Europe with Asia and Egypt. The traveller Marco Polo traversed the whole of Asia and went as far as China. The Eastern philosophy and science also moulded the intellectual life of Europe. "The rich, many-coloured fabric of later medieval life, the world of Dante and of Chaucer, would never have come into existence" says Trevelyan, "if barbarous Europe had remained as much shut in upon herself as she had been before the Crusades."

Before the Norman Conquest England was a disorganised country. But in course of time good administration and contact with Europe made her a progressive state sufficiently strong to defy the king. The barons had completely identified themselves with the early inhabitants and the old cleavage between the conquerors and the conquered had disappeared. Land had been cultivated and trade with foreign countries had made sufficient progress. Hubert Walter had no difficulty in raising the huge money for the crusades and for ransoming the king; the towns were rich enough to purchase their freedom; the population had also increased with the growing prosperity of the country. New centres of education came into existence and a number of buildings of substantial value were erected. The monasteriers attracted many learned men from the continent, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge grew out of some of these institutions. The University of

Oxford started teaching in the reign of Stephen and it became important in the time of Henry II. Cambridge started its work early in the thirteenth century.

There were very few schools worth the name. A few grammar schools existed but they were mostly maintained by the monasteries for the education of monks.

The masses of the people however were serfs and villeins, and it has been estimated that about three-fourths of the population belonged to this category. They were bound to the soil and could not move away from it. They were contented with their lot and ungrudgingly rendered service to their lords who were mostly foreigners. In the chartered towns the privileges were enjoyed by a close corporation, the common citizens had no share in them. The jury system and the election of the coroners limited the despotism of the king but the people not belonging to the upper classes could not expect to be consulted by king or his agents. The barons still constituted the most powerful aristocracy and they enjoyed all the high offices in the State. They were the sheriffs and the owners of the manors. It is not too much to say that Medieval England was entirely under the control of the barons. The system of primogeniture made the members of the baronial families seek their fortune in less attractive circumstances, and most of the knights of the period came from this class. There was no social cleavage between the rich and the middle classes. The English society therefore grew on the lines which did not break its solidarity. The English upper class was never a closed caste, and there was constant interchange of relations between the different classes. Whatever money the rich accumulated was spent in purchasing luxuries which helped the

growth of the English towns und encouraged manufactures, trade and commerce. The unequal distribution of wealth under the feudal and manorial system and the peace which England enjoyed since the Conquest made it possible for the people in the Middle Ages to receive the arts of civilized life.

CHAPTER X

THE BEGINNING OF PARLIAMENT

Growth of National Sentiment. King John did not sign the Charter willingly. Soon after his meeting with the barons at Runnymede he tried to repudiate the Charter with the support of the Pope who absolved him from all promises to the unruly barons. A party was therefore formed in England to overthrow the king with French help and the crown was offered to Louis, the son of the French king Philip Augustus. On the death of John in 1216 the barons were divided among themselves as the successor of John was his son Henry, then a boy of nine. The cause of the minor king was taken up by three able men: William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, acted as Regent, and he was assisted by Hubert be Burgh, Earl of Kent, who filled the position of Justiciar, and Peter des Roches Bishop of Winchester. The Regency Council reduced the opposition by reaffirming the Great Charter with a few modifications. The French party suffered a great defeat at Lincoln and the French vessels bringing reinforcements were destroyed by Hubert de Burgh off Sandwich in 1217. Unable to continue the war the French king gave up the claims of his son by the Treaty of Lambeth. The Prince agreed to withdraw on condition that those who had supported him would not be persecuted. This clause was necessary in the interest of the citizens of London who had joined the French in this war. The citizens of

London were actuated by the selfish interests in supporting Louis. They lacked the sentiment of patriotism and did not think it a disgrace to invite a foreigner to rule them. A large number of barons were also foreigners, therefore, Louis could develop his plan of following in the footsteps of William the Conqueror. But the feeling of patriotism was growing and the defeat of Louis was received with joy by the people. It became an easy task for the Regency Council to carry on their administration with the sympathy of the English party. The foreign element was gradually got rid of, and Stephen Langton who was forced to leave England towards the end of the reign of the last king was restored to his seat at Canterbury. At his request the Pope recalled the troublesone legate Pandulf although still claimed his annual tribute from England as the feudal superior according to the understanding with John.

William Marshall the Regent died in 1219. He did his best to maintain the national integrity and to ward off the danger from France. His family had rendered great service to the kingdom as Marshall of England. He was an honest God-fearing man and saved the country in a critical time by adopting the policy of conciliation. The papal legate Pandulf carried on the government for a short time but on his recall in 1221 the responsibility of administration was shared by Langton and Hugh de Burgh. Langton was an Englishman and took a prominent share in the rising of the barons against John. Hugh de Burgh was a nobleman of great distinction and as Justiciar he co-operated whole-heartedly with the Earl of Pembroke in the work of administration. These two men ruled the country efficiently till 1227 when Henry III came of age. The risings of the recalcitrant barons was

suppressed, the troubles on the Welsh borders were dealt with, and military expeditions had to be sent to France in 1223-24 when the French king invaded Poitou. The death of Louis VIII in 1226 relieved England of the French menace as the new king was too young to be a danger. Henry III in the beginning retained the services of Hugh de Burgh as his chief minister, but on the advice of Peter des Roches the Bishop of Winchester, who had been the guardian of the king's person till 1227 the king dispensed with the services of Hugh de Burgh. (1232). This was an evil thing for the country as the king was an incompetent man and created great discontent by his favouritism to foreigners.

Peter des Roches was jealous of the great Justiciar and on his fall governed the country very badly. This gave rise to a rebellion of the barons and on the representation of Edmund Rich, the Archbishop of Canterbury, he was dismissed and the king undertook to carry on the administration himself with the help of officials. Henry III did not possess the ability to rule. He was brought up in England and in fact he was the first English king since the Conquest but as his tutors were Frenchmen he had learnt the language, manners and customs of the French and he preferred foreign to English society. He had married Eleanor of Provence in 1236 and along with her a large number of Savoyards came to England. One of them Boniface of Savoy was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. In the beginning the king bestowed his favours upon the Poitevins who came with his mother who had married a baron of Poitou after the death of John. Henry III filled his court with foreigners who began to prove a drain upon the resources of the English people.

He also wasted much money upon an expedition to recover Poitou and suffered a defeat in 1242-43. The Poitevins and Savoyards flocked to England to enjoy the hospitality of their generous kinsman. Most of them were insensible and greedy. They did not care for the feelings of the English and behaved with them insolently. This gave rise to a great discontent among the English barons.

The king was greatly influenced by the Pope in his political activities. In his religious life he resembled Edward the Confessor and out of regard for his memory he built the Westminster Abbey. He became a tool in the hands of the Pope who made him support his ambitious schemes in Europe and England. There was a bitter struggle going on between the Papacy and Emperor Frederick II and his successors. Henry III was expected to provide funds for this war. He also submitted to the Pope by appointing foreign clergy to English benefices at the order of the Pope. These clergymen were not men renowned for either scholarship or character, they didnot do their duty properly but were very exacting in the collection of their dues. The English clergy on the other hand were mercilessly taxed by the Pope with the support of the king who was expected to resist the demands. The King and the Pope, as it were, formed an alliance against the English Church and people. This created a feeling of strong resentment among all sections of the English people, lay and clerical. To further accentuate the feelings Pope Innocent IV offered the crown of Sicily to Edmund the second, son of Henry III and although the prince didnot wear the crown England had to pay the sum of £40,000 (1254). A brother of the king was set up as a candidate for the Empire and the kingship of

Germany and some more money was squandered in this fruitless enterprise (1257). England rebelled against this process of exploitation by the Pope and foreigners, and an opposition was organised under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. The English national movement was stimulated by the spirit of opposition to the foreigners.

The Provisions of Oxford. Simon de Montfort was also a foreigner. He came to England in 1230 and was made Earl of Leicester by virtue of the claims of his grandmother. He married Eleanor, the sister of the king, and thus became one of the English nobility. He was appointed to rule Gascony but was dismissed from his charge on account of complaints against his severe government (1253). Simon did not deserve this treatment as he saved the province in difficult eircumstances and therefore he felt greatly aggrieved at this unjust action of the king. On his return to England Simon strengthened the party of opposition which had been trying to resist the extravagance of the king. By the middle of the thirteenth century England had become alert with a sense of nationalism. A new awakening had taken place since the advent of the Friars into the country. The Dominicans arrived in 1221 and the Franciscans in 1224. These Friars lived in the most miserable quarters and worked among the poor. Most of them were great scholars and in the Universities they started houses for poor scholars. The important centre of learning at the period was Oxford where Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, and other eminent scholars carried on their work. The students of Oxford were ardent nationalists and took an active part in the struggles with the king. The rejuvene-

scence of the nation was evident from the growing literature of the period. Earl Simon was a friend of Robert Grosseteste who later on became Bishop of Lincoln and from him he derived the broader conception of patriotism. Grosseteste protested against the misrule of the king as well as of the Pope. He was one of the most learned men of the Age and had great influence with the people. Henry III found it very difficult to control the exuberant activities of the rising nation. He was a man without any balance of judgment and was incapable of any steady or moderate action. The Great Council was extended by the inclusion of the knights of the shires so that they might grant a competent aid to the king in 1225 when they were summoned to attend the Council at Lincoln. Four knights from each shire were also asked to attend a Great Council at Westminster in 1254. The knights however were not very willing to attend these Councils at so much personal sacrifice with a view to sanction the king more money which he required to carry on his wild projects. But they lacked courage to oppose the king.

Simon de Montfort had identified himself thoroughly with the English people and threw himself whole-heartedly into the popular movement to resist the extravagance of the king. The barons demanded that England should be governed in the interest of the English and the exploitation of the country by the foreign favourites and the Italian clergy should be stopped. The Great Council gradually acquired strength. The request of the king for a grant in 1254 had been refused and when pressed by necessity he again asked for a grant in 1258, the Council assembled at Oxford, formulated their demands for the

redress of the grievances of the people. He had no other alternative than to give his assent to the Provisions of Oxford which stated that the king should transfer the government of the kingdom to a Council of Fifteen barons who would be appointed by a Council of Twenty-four chosen equally by the king and barons. The Great Council called at the time as Parliament should meet thrice in the year, and besides the chief barons it should be attended by twelve elected members representing the communities. This was a scheme of baronial government which did not please either the king or the knights of the shires who by this time have become an important factor in the national life. The barons had obtained control over the government in their own interest and there was a great discontent with their selfish activities. The rising class of knights and gentry known as "the community of the bachelery" of England represented to Prince Edward that the barons had done nothing for the good of the state and that they had only secured their own advantage. The Prince promised that he would see that as the king had taken an oath to keep his promise at Oxford the barons should keep theirs. Under the circumstances the barons assembled at Westminster in 1259 agreed to the Provisions of Westminster guaranteeing substantial concessions to their tenants. This formation of a third political party helped the king's party. The bachelors preferred the King's courts to the tyranny of the barons and they supported the royalists in their struggle with the privileged aristocracy. In view of this division the king managed to ignore the Provisions of Oxford. A number of barons eventually came over to his side and the country was thrown into a triangular conflict for

a few years but Earl Simon with consummate ability led the party of the reforming barons for about five years. He had the support of the more politically-minded people who considered the autocracy of the king a greater danger than the oligarchy of the privileged barons. He had succeeded in driving away the foreign favourites but the king was anxious to resile from his promise when he found that the scheme was not working satisfactorily. He had made up his quarrel with the king of France by surrendering his claims in Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou and acknowledging Louis as the feudal chief of Gascony. First he appealed to the Pope to absolve him from the oath at Oxford and then proclaimed that the Provisions were null and void. This gave rise to a serious conflict between the parties and in the campaign of 1263 the king's party was forced to make a compromise. The dispute was referred to Louis IX of France, who decided that the laws of England did not put any check upon the powers of the king greater than those contained in the Magna Carta, and that whatever authority the Provisions possessed were destroyed by the action of the Pope. The "Mise of Amiens" as the award was called from the place where the French king gave his decision was rejected by the barons and a civil war ensued. Earl Simon won a great victory at Lewes and took the king a prisoner (May, 1264). The government now passed into the hands of Simon who maintained his position for over a year.

Simon's Parliament. Earl Simon was a man of ideas. He was fighting for a great cause. The conflict in which England was involved led ultimately to the limitation of the powers of the king who had drained all the resources

in the interest of the foreign favourites and to promote the ambitious scheme of the Pope. On the side of Simon were the nationalist barons who tried to stop the exploitation, the better-minded clergy, the students of Oxford who had been greatly influenced by the preaching friars and the citizens of London. King Henry received the support of the Pope who excommunicated Simon for his rebellious conduct. Nothing daunted Simon de Montfort enlisted the sympathy of the people who desired a constitutional government. He saw the utility of consulting the barons and the knights from the shires in the Great Council. King Henry occasionally summoned two or more knights elected in each shire-court to the Council with a view to infuse freshness in the baronial institution. The gentry had been associated in the administration of the county in various ways and sometimes they had been summoned individually to the King's Curia. But they had not been asked to attend as representatives of a section of the people in their collective capacity. It was generally felt that the communities of the great middle class should have a distinct place in the central government. Earl Simon summoned a Parliament in 1265, to which he invited the barons, bishops, abbots, priors and deans, two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each borough. But all boroughs were not represented as only those which had supported Simon were asked to send their representatives. This is the first Parliament in which the boroughs were represented, the practice of the commoners sitting in deliberation on state questions with the barons and the knights thus started with this great experiment made by Simon. The credit of making Parliament a really

popular body is generally given to the great Earl of Leicester but actually the British Parliament grew as the natural outcome of the common sense of the people. No one man can take the credit of being its founder. Simon de Montfort set a precedent which could not be disregarded by others who helped to develop the Parliamentary structure.

The task of carrying on the government proved difficult for Simon as some of the barons who had been on his side went over to the royalists. Prince Edward escaped from custody and led an army against Simon who died fighting at Evesham in August, 1265. He is held in respect by the English as a liberator of the nation for which he had given himself as a sacrifice. The civil war could not be continued long after the death of Simon but Henry had been taught a lesson. He changed the method of government and removed the grievances of the barons. The remaining years of his reign passed in peace, and when he died in 1272 his successor Edward was away on Crusade but nobody disputed his succession. The long struggle with the king and his foreign favourites had strengthened the nationalist movement and the great experiment that Simon de Montfort made laid the foundation of the great Parliamentary system of which England is so proud.

Laws of Edward I. Edward I was a great lawgiver, he has been called the English Justinian. He enacted various laws with the help of the learned men in his court and Parliament which was called for the purpose on several occasions. With him started the new practice of legislation which was almost unknown in England before. "Hitherto there has always been 'law'

Anglo-Danish in origin, traditional, customary, unwritten, much of it local, most of it obsolete; and there has been feudal law, also customary; more recently there has been 'case law,' made by pronouncements of famous royal judges, and commented on in professional treatises like those of Glanvill and Bracton; there have been public treaties, like the Constitutions of Clarendon and Magna Carta, purporting only to restate and reinforce the law, though perhaps in fact enlarging it; there have been royal Assizes or ordinances altering legal procedure, substituting for instance trial by jury for trial by battle." (*Trevelyan*) But Edward I started the process of making new laws and altering old ones whenever necessary.

Edward was away when his father died and did not come to England till August, 1274. During his absence and in the state of confusion many landlords encroached upon royal lands and set up baronial courts which came into conflict with the royal courts. The first step in an attempt to bring about order was to hold an inquiry into the rights enjoyed by the barons and the landlords. By the Statute of Gloucester issued in 1778 he demanded of every landowner the production of evidence of his special rights and privileges. The inquiry known as *Quo Warranto* (by what warrant?) was not an innovation but the parties concerned greatly resented such an inquest. It is told that Earl Warene of Surrey in reply to the inquiry of the justices drew his sword and told them that he held his land and franchises by that charter. The reply indicates the attitude of the men with vested interests. They resisted all attempts at interference with their rights which they had enjoyed long since. The king had to give up a searching inquiry but the results of the

inquest entered into the Hundred Rolls give an idea of the state of things at the time. The records tell us that there was widespread corruption and oppression and the number of unsurpations were equally large. For fear of another war of the barons the king desisted from the inquest but he succeeded in stopping further encroachments.

To win the confidence of the public in the royal courts the three divisions of the central courts, *viz.*, the King's Bench, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Common Pleas were staffed with competent lawyers as judges. Edward I started the famous institution of the Inns of Court for the training of lawyers. On the suppression of the Order of Knights Templar their quarters known as the Temple was utilised for the Inns in the time of Edward II.

The First Statute of Westminster issued in 1275 gave a full statement of the existing laws covering all departments. Starting with the practices of the time he tried to improve the condition of things regarding land-tenure and other important matters. It was found that nearly a quarter of the land in England was owned by the monasteries which did not pay anything to the king such as relief, wardship and marriage dues. Very often to escape payment people fraudulently passed their estates to the monasteries. To prevent such transactions the king issued the *Statute of Mortmain* in 1279 forbidding transfers of land to Church and monasteries without permission of the king. This created some trouble with the clergy but the king did not yield. He further demanded by the issue of a writ *circumspecte agatis* that the church courts should not trespass upon the sphere

of the king's court. The Second Statute of Westminster issued in 1285 regulated the grant by the clauses known as *De Donis Conditionalibus.* The land laws thus enunciated required that no land could be sold, it could only be passed on to the heir. The system of entail helped the landowners to keep their estates together but encouraged them to disinherit the younger sons who had to earn their livelihood through their own efforts. The practice has saved England from the growth of a rigid class distinction which created a privileged aristocracy on the continent. This law *De Donis* was abolished in the fifteenth century, but the landowners have still managed to maintain the system of entail.

The Third Statute of Westminster known as *Quia Emptores* issued in 1290 provided that when any land was sold the purchaser should hold it as a tenant of the seller's lord and not as it was the custom then as the tenant of the seller. This law stopped sub-infeudation and allowed the king and the tenants-in-chief to get the full value of their feudal dues. But the chief effect of the law was the break-up of feudalism as it accelerated the process of making the landlords small tenants-in-chief holding land direct from the king who gradually strengthened his position as head of the State.

The police system was regulated by the Statute of Winchester issued in 1285. The local duties of watch and ward and the methods of protecting property were defined. The Assize of Arms of Henry was reaffirmed, and it was also ordained that knights should be elected in each shire as Conservators of the Peace. Every landholder with an income of £20 was made to render knight service even if he did not hold land on that condition.

Every man was required to keep arms suitable to his social position. By this process the old distinction between tenure by military service and other tenures was removed. The feudal system was thus modified by the several measures introduced by the reforming king.

As he extended the opportunities of the people by regulating the land-tenure and defining the system of watch and ward and military organisation so also he encouraged the growth of commerce by several measures. The towns which had grown up round the castles were granted the rights of free boroughs and were allowed to develop into trading centres. The king had realised that the merchants if afforded protection would become a strong force against the rebellious barons and would also become a source of income to the State. A grievance of the merchants was that they could easily recover their trading debts. By the Statute of Merchants issued at Acton Burnell in 1283 he made provisions for a simple recovery of such debts. In order to attract foreign merchants to England he passed the Carta Mercatoria in 1303, by which mixed juries would be appointed for settling disputes between foreigners and Englishmen. The most important measure for facilitating trade and commerce was the improvement of coinage. He found that the system then in existence was very bad as the only coin in regular circulation was the silver penny which had to be cut for making smaller payments. Edward issued 'groats' or four-penny pieces and separate half-pence and farthings. Trade with the continent improved and customs duties were fixed. Wool and hides were the principal articles of export and wine was an important import. It has been estimated that the average annual yield of customs duties was £10,000.

One measure of Edward's the wisdom and justice of which have been questioned is the order for the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. These people had come to England in the wake of the Norman Conquest and had served a very useful purpose by lending money to the king as well as to the public. They were protected by the king but hated by the people as usury was considered a sin by the medieval church. Another cause of their unpopularity was that they had accumulated immense wealth in their hands. Under the pressure of popular opinion Edward banished them from England but he was humane enough to see that they did not suffer in life and property. The action was appreciated by the Christians in those days as there were some money-lenders of their own faith from Italy and other parts of Europe. It however took sometime for the growth of English bankers. After 360 years the Jews returned to England in the Stuart and Hanoverian era when the Christians had greatly changed their ideas regarding usury and they themselves had occupied an important position in the money market.

In every department of life Edward attempted reforms of far-reaching character. In land system, criminal justice, military organisation and in trade and commerce he stimulated wise and healthy reforms. He succeeded in achieving so much because he was surrounded by a number of eminent lawyers and he himself had acquired great proficieney in legal lore. It is upon the foundation he laid that the modern edifice has been built. The system of legislation on the modern lines according to the wishes of the people practically started with him.

The Origin of Parliament.—Edward I was a clever man. He had learnt a great deal from Simon de Montfort and following in his footsteps he wanted to consult the barons and the influential men of the realm in his work of administration. The year after his return from the Crusade he summoned a Parliament to Westminster (1275). Besides the barons and the prelates there were representatives of the communities in this assembly. Writs were issued to the sheriffs to get four knights elected by the shire-moot and to the mayors of boroughs to send four representative burgesses. This was the first broad-bottomed Parliament, as Simon's Parliament was attended by his partisans alone. But Edward had no intention of making this an invariable procedure. Parliament was to him a mere consultative body and he could call anybody he liked. He enacted most of his laws in Parliaments which met at different places connected with the names of the Statutes. But these Parliaments were mostly the old Council consisting of the barons, sometimes with the addition of knights and very rarely there were representatives of towns and boroughs. In 1295 again a Parliament was summoned which consisted of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons summoned by special writs, Proctors representing the lower clergy, and two knights from every county and two burgesses from every borough summoned by general writs addressed to the sheriffs. This Parliament was attended by the three Estates, the Lords lay and clerical, the Clerical Estate and the Commonalty; and from the comprehensive nature of its composition it has been called the Model Parliament. But there is nothing to show that henceforth the king called all the Parliaments on these lines. He

was making experiments in constitution-making. The different Estates met separately and discussed in their respective houses the taxes that were asked of them by the king. In the writ to the Archbishop of Canterbury he defined his policy that "what touches all shall be approved by all."

The objects for which Parliament was called were to obtain financial aid and to gather together the petitions and grievances of the subjects. In the Rolls of Parliament preserved since 1278 records of judicial proceedings of the King's Council have been kept. The term 'Parliament' was used loosely for the meeting which the king called for important business of state as well as for the King's Council in its judicial sessions. Parliament was not regularly called for financial business, but when the king found himself in difficulty he summoned the tenants-in-chief, archbishops bishops, and abbots for making grants. It was found necessary at times that the influential gentry should be associated in such deliberation, and that led to the summoning of the knights and the burgesses. This invitation to Parliament was not relished by the knights and the citizens as they had to find money for their long journey and besides the task of giving consent to levying fresh taxes on behalf of their constituents was not very pleasant. Sometimes boroughs petitioned to be excused from the burden of sending their delegates, and very often they neglected to send any. The English people were not sufficiently public-spirited to understand the importance of representative government which has grown out of this irregular beginning. The king in his financial difficulty adopted a method which proved to be an institution of great potentiality.

The King's Council used to meet regularly for dealing with petitions and grievances which could not be disposed of by the local courts. The king presided at the Council but in his absence the Justiciar. But from the reign of Henry III the Chancellor began to preside. With the increase of the number of cases the Council had to be called very often. In the Rolls of Parliament this Council is mentioned as Parliament and even the Model Parliament of 1295 does not appear under that title. In 1298 both the financial and the judicial bodies were summoned together and henceforth the two assemblies were found to be summoned simultaneously, and in the time of Edward III the term Parliament began to be applied to the representative and aristocratic body which developed on the lines of the Model Parliament.

It has been said that Parliament made England and the statement has a great deal of truth in it. The sense of unity and the political consciousness have grown from the association of the representatives of the people with the king and his big officers in matters of public interest. Parliament has not been built upon any definite plan but it has grown into its present shape by a natural process of living organisation by constant adjustments according to the exigencies of the time. The kings came to appreciate the value of holding conferences with the people on public questions and of coming in constant touch with the currents of popular opinion. The task of government became easy in this atmosphere of mutual understanding. The representatives of the people however did not get a full share in the government of the country all at once. They tried to avoid the irksome duty of granting supplies but when they were pressed for giving their consent to the

money necessary for the king they demanded redress of the grievances of the people which the king could hardly refuse. The constitutional progress thus depended upon the working of the conflicting interests.

The Model Parliament of Edward I was attended by the three Estates. The major barons were summoned individually by special writs, the minor barons, knights and gentry came as representatives of the communities, archbishops, bishops and abbots were also summoned by special writs and they were asked to bring the representatives of the lower clergy. The actual work of deliberation was confined to the barons and the prelates who also enjoyed high offices in the state. Others were silent witnesses in the great assembly which was only one house presided over by the King or his Chancellor. Other officers were also present as *ex-officio* memebrs of the House. The Commonalty had to give their votes in silence although they met separately to discuss amongst themselves as to the reply they would have to give to the issues before the House. Their usual meeting place was the Chapter House of the Monks of Westminster. They appointed one man as Speaker to speak for the Commons in full Parliament. From this practice the chairman of the Commons has been called the Speaker. The Clergy coming as a separate body were gradually merged in either the Lords or the Commons. There are still a number of prelates in the Upper House but the clergy as a body did not take much interest in the Parliamentary affairs. The money they granted in their own Convocations and gradually they left Parliament to devote themselves entirely to their monastic business.

Edward I did not contemplate transferring any substantial power to Parliament. He retained his complete supremacy in legislation, and the laws he promulgated were not all issued in consultation with, or with the consent of Parliament. Even in the matter of direct taxation where the consent of Parliament was considered essential previous agreement was not obtained in all cases. Indirect taxation was not placed within the purview of Parliament. Inspite of the smallness of powers Parliament as inaugurated by Edward proved to be a representative institution of very great importance as nothing similar to this existed in England till then. He defined for the first time the object of popular government as " what touches all should be approved by all ". He wanted the support of the English people against the French and it was to appeal to their national sentiment that he called them to rally round him.

During the lax government of Edward II and his favourite Piers Gaveston the barons imposed upon the country a Committee of Twenty-one Lords Ordainers. But the king was encouraged by another faction to overthrow the Ordainers and he succeeded in annulling their ordinances at a full Parliament at York (1322). The main ground of declaring these ordinances illegal was that they were not passed in a full Parliament including the Commons. The principle of the association of the Commonalty in legislation was acknowledged as a recognised principle of constitutional government. The barons had been trying to control the government of England since the reign of John and in the course of over a century they struggled hard to establish their authority. They did not possess that tenacity for success as they had to pay

attention towards the management of their own estates and cared for the pleasures of those days. Parliament grew in power in these circumstances and it was utilised by the wicked Queen Isabella for deposing the incompetent king. The British Parliament thus established the precedent of deposing a king.

The English in Ireland. The Norman and Angevin kings did not extend their conquests beyond the boundaries of England as they had to look after their possessions in the continent. When Normandy was lost in the reign of John attention was paid to the neighbouring provinces and in the reign of Edward I the power of medieval England in Wales, Ireland and Scotland reached its highest point. It was from Ireland that Britain received the light of religion when she was steeped in barbarism but the Irish clergy lacked the power of organisation and did not help to produce either a united church or a single state. Ireland remained an island of innumerable chiefs and many monks. The Irish lived a pastoral life scattered in villages. They did not develop even the art of town life. At the instance of Pope Adrien IV Henery II sent an expedition to Ireland in 1269 under Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, nicknamed Strongbow. Since then the English began their penetration into the island. They built castles, and strengthened their position within their pales. The Dublin Castle became the chief centre of the Anglo-Norman influence. Henery II could not introduce effective government and did not endow Strongbow with sufficient authority to carry on his conquests. The adventurers who came with him settled among the Celtic population and pushed their march towards the West as best they could. They were practically merged in the people.

Only in the English Pale round Dublin that English law and customs could be introduced. The English influence became very strong in the reign of Edward I. Agriculture and commerce throve under the good rule and great part of the country was organised into the shires on the English model. Free towns grew round the castles. But during the reign of Edward II the Scots after their defeat at Bannockburn went into Ireland in large numbers and gave a blow to the prosperity of the island. It took the English about two centuries to recover their influence there. The country was torn into a number of tribal states and the people on the other hand could not attain unity on account of the presence of the English. An attempt was made in the fifteenth century to establish Anglo Irish government under the Earl of Kildare, but this proved a failure. Richard II led an expedition but had to withdraw on account of his impending danger at home. Ireland was not completely subjugated till the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Conquest of Wales. The Celts had retired into the mountainous regions of the west on the arrival of successive waves of immigrants from the continent. They lived in Wales, in Strathclyde and in the highlands of Scotland. But on account of geographical position of these places they could not form a strong combination against the conquering hosts which gradually settled in England. The Saxons could not cross Offa's Dyke till the time of Harold who secured the alliance of some of the Celtic tribes and thus brought Wales in closer contact with England. William the Conqueror arranged to deal with the Welsh by appointing three Earls as Marcher Lords with semi-independent authority. The Earls of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford not only kept the borders free from raids but they at times led forward

movements by sending troops within the Celtic zone. The Anglo-Normans gradually conquered the lowlands and in their new settlements taught the Celts a higher type of civilization. The Welsh used to live in huts of boughs and led a pastoral life. They learnt the art of agriculture by coming in contact with the Anglo-Normans. But the Welsh did not easily submit to the new forces of civilization. The conquerors tried to subdue them by building castles in important places and had great diffficulty in making the natives of hills and valleys of Wales accept the foreign rule. Throughout the twelfth century there was a tedious fight between tribalism of the natives and the feudalism of the Anglo-Normans for ascendancy in the land. The regions near Shrewsbury and Pembroke came earlier under the sway of the invaders. But the Welsh remained strong in the mountain fastnesses of the north. Towards the end of the twelfth century there was a national revival under the leadership of a Welsh chieftain name Llewelyn ap Iowerth or Llewelyn I. The Llewelyns had ruled in Gwynedd with Snowdon in the centre. From 1194 to 1240 Llewelyn I, maintained his supremacy throughout Wales from the island of Anglesey to Pembroke. He reconquered from the Lords Marcher considerable portion of the Welsh territories. The Welsh people in this period started a movement for the cultivation of their bardic poetry and music with a view to save Welsh intellect and idealism from ruin under pressure of the new civilization. Llewelyn also tried to retain his position as overlord of the whole of Wales by occasional alliances with the Marcher Lords. He joined the barons, party in the fight against John and obtained some rights for his country in the great Charter. His grandson Llewelyn ap Griffith or Llewelyn II followed in his footsteps during the struggle of

the barons with Henry III. He supported Simon de Montfort and the Welsh troops fought with him in the famous battles. At the treaty of Shrewsbury (1267) after the battle of Evesham where Simon fell Llewelyn was recognised as ths Prince of Wales as a vassal chief under the crown. But he practically remained an independent ruler.

Edward I did not sympathise with the movement of Welsh freedom. He was no friend of the leader and Llewelyn II started a campaign for complete separation from England. Edward I took up the challenge and organised a big offensive on all fronts by land and by sea in 1277. Llewelyn was defeated and was allowed to retain only the principality of Gwynedd, *i. e.*, Anglesey, Carnarvon and Mericneth. The method, of administration that Edward introduced was not liked by the Welsh and he had to send another campaign in 1282 to crush the Welsh rebellion. Llewelyn was killed and his brother was captured and hanged. Wales was thus completely conquered. By the Statute of Wales it was brought under direct control of the crown in 1284. A number of strong castles were built in North round Snowdon to maintain peace and order. The principality of Llewelyn was divided into five shires on the English model and the rest of Wales was still left in the hands of the Lords Marcher. The nationalist movement in Wales was not dead even after the conquest. The Welsh bards still sang the glories of the House of Llewelyn and another rising took place in 1295. To satisfy the nationalists the title of Prince of Wales was conferred upon Prince Edward in 1301. He was born in Carnarvon in 1284 and was a mere boy incapable of doing any harm to the Welsh who were pleased to have a prince of their own. She could retain her distinct position in the Empire, her

language and her tribal customs for centuries together. In feudal territories English law was enforced and in the tribal area the Welsh customs were allowed to continue. But the two elements were slowly welded into one people in course of time. The English civilized the Celts by teaching them to live in towns and to follow the art of trade and agriculture and they in their turn learnt from them the use of long-bow archery which proved very helpful to them in their wars with the Scots and the French.

The English rule in Wales was not easily accepted by the natives. The country during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not enjoy peace on account of tribal feuds, baronial violence and the tyranny and extortion of the officials. The national feeling was once again revived under the leadership of Owen Glendower in the reign of Henry IV when England was experiencing a great crisis. Owen was a remarkable personality and by his attractive appeal to the national sentiment he gathered round him a strong band of troops. He assumed the title of Prince of Wales and carried on the government for a few years from 1400 to his fall in 1408 when the king obtained control of South Wales. But Owen held out in the North till his death in 1415. Even after his death peace was not restored in the land which became a happy hunting ground of robbers, and murderers for sometime to come. The people were enlisted in the English Army as they retained their military habits and skill in archery. During the Wars of Roses they played a prominent part as the parties in the conflict had great interest in Wales. The parliamentary life in England was disturbed by the struggle between Welsh tribalism and English feudalism. It was with the help of

Welsh soldiers that Henry of Richmond won the battle of Bosworth in 1485 and the Tudor dynasty with the rich Welsh blood in it succeeded in setting up a strong government in England.

Scottish Wars. To the north of England was Scotland which the English kings tried to dominate since the Norman Conquest. The Scots are a mixed people consisting of Celts, Picts, Danes and Angles. In the ninth century a Scot named Macalpine organised the kingdom of Scotland with Scone as capital. The Saxons had settled in the lowlands and held relations with the Celts of the Highlands and in course of time Lothian was included within the kingdom of the Celts. The kings of Scotland were more English than Celtic. Malcolm who reigned from 1057 to 1093 had been brought up in England and his second wife was a sister of the English king. A large number of Anglo-Saxons had migrated to Scotland when the Northern districts had been harried by the Conqueror. Feudalism was imported into the country by these refugees. Warriors from the south were given baronies and extensive lands. They greatly improved the social, religious and economic life of the people with whom they came in intimate contact. The Scottish kings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries introduced many features of the English State, such as shire system and borough system. David I (1124—1153) tried to take possession of territories in Cumberland, Nothumberland and Durham during the disorderly period of Stephen. The Scottish king at this time made an attempt to make Scotland a strong kingdom organised on the feudal system as in England. The Celtic tribalism practically disappeared from the Lowlands except in Galloway, but it remained in

the Highlands as strong as before. English language made its way into the plains and a number of barons settled there who owed allegiance to the king of England for land in that country. The Scottish king also acknowledged the supremacy of the English king but it was thought that the overlordship was exercised with regard to estates in England which the former held. In the matter of ecclesiastical administration the Scottish Church had nothing to do with England; it simply recognised the supremacy of the Pope of Rome. The opposition of the clergy was very strong when England attempted to impose her supremacy over Scotland as a matter of right.

The trouble arose when the Scottish king Alexander III died in 1286. He left no male heir to succeed him. The only rightful claimant to the throne was his grand-daughter Margaret then a child of two living in Norway. Edward I had in his mind the expansion of England to its natural frontier. He came to an agreement with the Scottish Parliament that 'the Maid of Norway' should marry his son Prince Edward and the two countries should in that way be brought under the same crown. But unfortunately Margaret died in the Orkneys on her way to Scotland. (1290). This caused a bitter controversy regarding succession. There were about a score of candidates for the throne, but the chief among them, whose claims were considered valid, were John Balliol and Robert Bruce. The dispute was referred to King Edward I of England for arbitration, who by his Award of Norham in 1292 decided in favour of Balliol. This made the Scottish king a vassal of England in every respect. He lost his independence and became a puppet of the English king. Edward claimed that as overlord he would hear appeals from the Scottish law courts.

This claim the Scottish barons were not prepared to concede. Balliol was not reluctant to submit but the barons forced him to give up the attitude on threat of deposition. The Scots revolted against Edward and sought the alliance of Philip IV of France. Edward summoned Balliol to appear before him in court at Berwick, but Balliol refused to come and declared that Scotland was no longer subject to English control. The infuriated king led an expedition into Scotland, subjugated the country as far as Aberdeen and took Balliol a prisoner (1296).

Edward I reduced Scotland to the position of an English province. But the men who were entrusted with the task of administration created a new situation by their high-handedness. Edward had assumed the Government of the country and removed the stone from Scone, on which the Scottish kings used to hold their coronation. The cruelty of the English rulers awakened a bitter feeling of opposition among the Scots. William Wallace, an Anglo-Norman knight from near Paisley, gathered the Scots in a revolt against the English. He was a man of wonderful abilities and succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the English Governor, Earl of Warenne at Stirling (September 11, 1297). Wallace kindled the patriotic fire in the hearts of the vigorous Scots, and called them to the war of independence which kept England busy for a number of years. Edward was then engaged in his war against France but the serious situation in Scotland brought him from the continent. He hurried with a strong army to deal with Wallace who was defeated at Falkirk (1298). With his longbow he broke the Scottish ranks and scattered them into pieces. Wallace was hunted out of his fastness and

was executed as a common felon. The revolution was suppressed only for the time being, but the Scots did not come forward to accept the English rule. They were a very difficult people to deal with. They possessed an indomitable spirit and every peasant among them was a warrior. They were not afraid of privations like the Mahrattas of India. On the approach of the invaders they would retreat after burning their huts and laying waste the country. The fire that Wallace had lit could not be easily extinguished. Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant to the throne, became the leader of the revolutionists.

Bruce was a baron of England and owed allegiance to the English throne. He had also fought on the English side in the late wars. But in a dispute with his rival John Comyn he cut his throat in the church and since then he became an outlaw. He therefore joined the Scots and along with Douglas maintained the revolution. The new danger Edward I was preparing to crush when he died in the vicinity of Gretna Green (July 7, 1307). He was a strong king and could have reduced Scotland to submission had not his French complications kept him busy with the continental affairs. The Scottish people also awakened to their sense of nationalism refused to accept the English rule lying down.

Edward II was an incompetent ruler. He was a gambler, a coward and a besotted fool. He was under the influence of a Gascon named Piers Gaveston whom the people hated. In the early part of his reign Edward II was busy in his quarrels with the barons and could not attend to the Scottish affairs. In the meantime Bruce had strengthened his position, and had very greatly increased his forces. The castles in the possession of the English were

recovered one by one, and most of them destroyed so that the English might not use them for the suppression of the national upheaval. The last stronghold of the English at Stirling was besieged by the Scottish leader in 1314. Edward II was roused up to a sense of duty. The barons had forced him to accept the administration of the kingdom by a Committee of Lords Ordainers. His friend Gaveston had been killed (1312), but the Lords Ordainers did not take any action to suppress the Scottish rising. When Stirling was threatened Edward II collected about 20,000 troops and marched to the relief of the Castle. Robert Bruce was an able general and had made careful preparation for the deadly conflict with the English. He stood below the walls of Stirling at the field of Bannockburn with his footmen arrayed in solid squares, shield touching shield and the long spear stretched outwards. In front of his troops lay a swampy bed which the English did not know. Edward II was foolish in sending his archers ahead without adequate protection. When they were attacked by Bruce's cavalry from the left they were thrown into the pits and bog and fell into great confusion. Those who could reach the Scottish lines were easily routed. The English troops were then vigorously charged by the Scots and fled before them in all directions. Those who could not escape were killed or taken prisoner (June 24, 1314). It is told that never before or after was there such a destruction of English chivalry. All hopes of recovering Scotland were shattered. The great victory which Bruce obtained brought independence to Scotland. Out of the tribulations of twenty years a nation was born but the sturdy heroes could not escape the savage anarchy of the turbulent barons for two centuries and a half. The constant feud

of the two neighbouring countries went on till they were brought under the same crown in the seventeenth century.

Edward II was involved in the petty quarrels of the barons for the rest of his reign. With the help of the Earl of Winchester and his son known as the Dispensers he managed to get the control of affairs in his own hands in 1322. At a Parliament at York in 1324, to which he invited the members of the three Estates of England and the representatives from Wales he laid a great constitutional principle that no law affecting the whole kingdom should be decided except with the consent of each of the three Estates. This marks the end of the period in which the barons attempted to set up their exclusive control over the affairs of administration in England. They had henceforth to work with and through Parliament.

Edward II was an unlucky man. His career was a series of misfortunes to him. He had married Isabella, sister of King Charles IV of France. She went to Paris to carry on negotiations regarding the question of Guinne, and shortly afterwards her son went to France to pay homage to Charles for Gascony. Isabella met there Roger Mortimer, Earl of March who had been exiled from England. The two entered into an unholy intrigue to depose Edward II. With the help of many discontented Englishmen they led an expedition against the King. On the approach of the rebellious troops he fled like a coward to South Wales and then he was brought to Berkeley-Castle as a prisoner where he was later on basely murdered (September 21, 1327). Parliament declared Edward II deposed and Isabella with Mortimer carried on the Government in the name of her minor son Edward III.

The English Government did not recognise Robert Bruce as the King of Scotland so the Scots invaded England in 1327. Edward III attempted to oppose the turbulent people of the north but could not bring them to an open engagement. Mortimer therefore acknowledged the independence of Scotland by the Treaty of Northampton (April, 1328). Scotland thus obtained her cherished object after so much sacrifice.

NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS.

William I (1066—1087)

- Robert, Duke of Normandy
- William Rufus (1087—1100)
- Henry I (1100—1135) m. Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III of Scotland
  - Matilda m. Geoffrey of Anjou
    - Henry II (1154—1189) m. Eleanor of Aquitaine
      - Henry crowned 1170 died 1183
      - Richard I (1189—1199)
      - Geoffrey
        - Arthur died 1203
      - John (1199—1216)
        - Henry III (1216—1272)
          - Edward I (1272—1307)
            - Edward II m. Isabella, daughter of Philip, of France (1307—1327)
              - Edward III (1327—1377)
        - Richard, Earl of Cornwall
          - Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.
- Adela m. Stephen of Blois
  - Stephen (1135—1154)

CHAPTER XI.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

France and England.—Since the time of William the Conqueror England had been closely connected with France. William was the Duke of Normandy and by his conquest he became the King of England. For a short time after his death the two countries were ruled by different kings, but, till the time of John they were under the same crown. Besides Normandy Henry II was Duke of Anjou through his mother and by marrying Eleanor he became Duke of Aquitaine and ruled over the provinces of Poitou, Guinne and Gascony. He was thus master of a larger area of France than the king of France. He had to pay his homage to the French king for his possessions within his kingdom. There was constant conflict between the kings of those countries as the French did not like the existence of English rule within their boundaries. Wars took place in the time of Henry II and Richard I. The latter had died fighting with his antagonists. John was defeated at the battle of Bouvines and found himself deserted by his barons. He lost every place excepting Guinne. But here too the French adopted the policy of peaceful penetration. The boundaries between the English possessions and French territories were not well-marked, and the French therefore pushed back the English frontier step by step till a narrow strip of land was left in English hands. Edward I had to go to Guinne to fight against French aggression first from 1286 to 1289 and then

in 1294 and 1297. On account of the pressure of war Edward had to impose heavy taxes upon English wool exported to Flanders and to find sufficient troops for his operations. The barons resisted his demands to accompany him beyond the Channel. The story regarding the Earl Marshall, Roger Bigod, indicates the attitude of the barons towards the king's foreign estates. When asked to proceed to Flanders the Earl said he was prepared to follow him but he was not willing to go without the king. To this the king angrily said : " By God, earl you will either go or hang." The earl readily retorted : "By the same oath O king, I will neither go nor hang ". Edward had to reconfirm the Magna Carta on account of the rebellious attitude of the barons but could not pursue the war in France to a successful issue. On account of the tension between the two countries Scotland kept up the struggle in the north and found an ally in the French king. The quarrel over the frontier between France and Guinne greatly contributed to the protracted conflict between England and France known in history as the Hundred Years' War.

Difficulties of Edward III. As Edward III was a minor when he was placed upon the throne, his mother Isabella and her friend Mortimer carried on the Government in his name. But the king soon relieved himself of the intriguing Mortimer who had brought disgrace upon England by humiliating treaties with Scotland and France, by putting him under arrest and then having him executed (1330). Edward III was an ambitious young man, and was anxious to regain the English position in Scotland. An opportunity came on the death of Robert Bruce in 1329. His son and successor David was a boy of five, Edward

Balliol, the son of John Balliol, challenged the claims of David, with the support of the English king. He won a victory at Dupplin Moor, and sat upon the throne of Scotland for twelve weeks. The Scottish people didnot like an English vassal as their king, and so drove him out. Edward III took up his cause and defeated the Scots at Halidon Hill (1333).

Despite English help, however, Edward Balliol failed in getting a firm hold on Scotland especially because David Bruce sought refuge in France. The Scots loved David and did not feel happy when Edward Balliol ceded southern Scotland as the price of English support. Defeated in his designs in Scotland, the English king turned towards France. If military glory could not be won in Scotland, France might provide a profitable field.

War with France. The war with France that began in 1337 was inevitable. Henry II's French possessions had long rankled in the minds of the French king and they could not look with favour on the English king owning a part of France. The French had long since been trying to drive the English out of their French possession. This led to endless quarrels and embittered the relations between the two countries. Fuel was added to the fire by the frequent skirmishes between the English and the French sailors living on the two sides of the Channel. The French help to Scotland thwarted English designs in Scotland and Edward III wisely came to the conclusion that to deal with Scotland successfully he must first settle with France. In another quarter the quarrel seemed to gather force. The English exported their wool to Flanders where the Flemish wove it into cloth. The Count of Flanders was a vassal of the

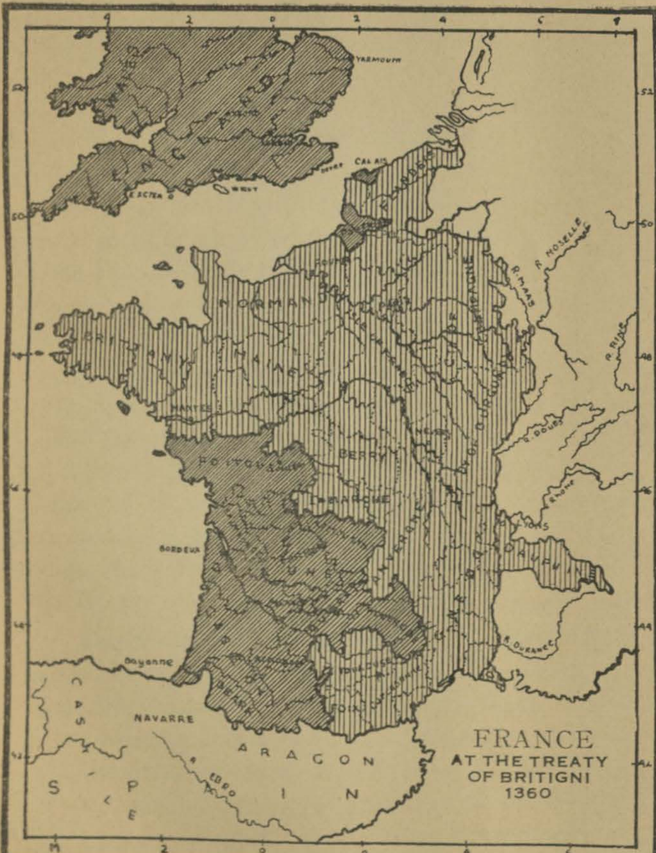
French king who prohibited import of English wool into Flanders. This hit the Flemish merchants hard as they depended on English wool for their cloth manufacture. Under the leadership of Jacques van Artevelde, they concluded a treaty with the English king in 1338 whereby the English king granted them free commercial intercourse with England thus allowing them to import English wool and export their woollen cloth to England.

Another excuse for war was provided by the renewal of Edward's claim to the French throne. When Charles IV of France died in 1328, he left no heirs. He was the last of his brothers to rule over France. The nearest male heir was his cousin Philip, son of his uncle Charles. Edward III was his sister Isabella's son, who put in a claim for him. A posthumous daughter of Charles IV was ignored according to the French custom, but Isabella urged that though a woman could not claim the French throne, there was nothing to prevent her from transmitting the claim to a male heir. The French nobles however decided against his claim preferring to have a king of their own. Plilip on his accession asked Edward to do him homage as his overlord for his French possessions. After some evasion Edward III had at last done personal homage to Plilip thus recognising him as the lawful king of France. Edward's claim, if any, had therefore come to an end. But when his Flemish allies persuaded him to press his claim in order that they might escape the fate of rebels against France he reasserted his claim to the French throne in 1337.

The war that ensued is known as the Hundred Years' War, not that it lasted hundred years continuously, but off and on England and France fought on for more than a hundred years till 1453. It can be divided in several periods.

The first lasted from 1337 to 1340. Edward won a great naval victory at Sluys in 1340. This was, however, 'little more than a land battle fought afloat', and the success was due to the skill of the English archers. Inspite of this success however Edward found his allies useless and there was a truce for two years. Then began the second period in 1342 ending with the truce of Calais in 1347. It was at the battle of Crecy in 1346, that the English demonstrated their strength. It was a meeting of the old and the new. The French had feudal troops to which Edward opposed his standing army. The French were undisciplined, the English soldiers formed part of a well-trained organisation. The French nobles were opposed to the English commoners who cared little for the rules of chivalry but fought well and determinedly. The English had occupied their ground earlier and had prepared their defences well. When the French reached the battlefield, tired though they were, the nobles insisted on fighting. The English long-bowmen now plied their weapons with deadly effect. Their arrows had a longer range and wrought havoc among the masses of the French soldiers. The despised infantry proved its success against the French cavalry and the English won the day.

This was followed by the English capture of Calais after a year's siege in 1347. Meanwhile the Scots who had tried to help the French by invading North of England had been defeated at Neville's Cross and their king David was captured. Calais remained under the English for two hundred years a great commercial centre and still more useful as a base for English operations against the French. It was the one solid English gain in the Hundred Years' War.



FRANCE
AT THE TREATY
OF BRITIGNI
1360

After a short lived truce in 1350 the English again defeated their enemy at sea, this time the Spaniard. But much more famous is the English victory at Poitiers where 40,000 French men were opposed to 2,0co English men who made up for their smaller number by the natural advantages of the position that they occupied. Again the English forces under Edward's son, the Black Prince were successful, thanks to the skill of the English archers. The French king became a captive.

Edward took him to London. But the peace that he signed in 1359, the French government under the regency of the French king's eldest son refused to ratify. But the French could not hold out long and in 1360 the treaty of Bretigny concluded 'the Great Peace.'

Edward gave up his claim to the French throne and to the provinces of Normandy and Ajcu and instead received Calais, Gascony, Poitou, Guinne, Guines and Saintague in full sovereignity. Besides the French agreed to pay a ransom of £ 500,000 for their king John. These English possessions in France were turned into a duchy and given to the Black Prince to rule over as Duke of Aquitaine. The Treaty was considered as a triumph for the English.

The Second Phase of the War. The English rule could not be popular in the newly conquered districts. High taxation and the cruelties of the Black Prince, the king's eldest son, increased his difficulties. Slowly but steadily under their new king Charles V, the French recovered most of their ceded territories till the English were left in possession of Bordeaux, Calais, Brest, Cherbourg and Bayonne only. The Black Prince had wasted his strength in a war of succession in Spain, and returned to England in 1371 in enfeebled health. His brother John of Gaunt

could not improve the situation. The English failure was hastened by the desertion of the most of ,their continental allies and the diplomacy, skill, and patience of the new French king, Charles V. Fighting came to an end for a time by the truce of Bruges in 1375.

When Edward III was succeeded by his minor son Richard II, in 1377, the French got their chance to retaliate the English invasions of France by invading the south coast of England. Fighting continued throughout the reign with varying results till a truce was concluded in 1389 and renewed in 1394. Hostilities ceased when in 1396 Richard married Isabella the six year old daughter of Charles VI of France.

Henry V and the renewal of the war in France. In 1399 Richard's misrule brought about his deposition. Henry, a grandson of Edward III, representing the younger branch of the royal family succeeded him. He was not in the direct line of succession. His claim to the throne rested on his victory over Richard II and his subsequent election by Parliament. Under him again the war continued with indifferent results.

His death in 1413 opened a new chapter in the history of the Hundred Years' War. His son Henry V. shared with Edward III a thirst for military glory. France offered a very favourable opportunity. King Charles VI was insane, the nobles were divided in two bitterly hostile camps always on the verge of a civil war. Henry could ally himself with one of the parties and thus gain immense advantage for the English cause- He believed further that English success in France would strengthen the Lancastrian hold in the country.

Henry V now renewed Edward III's claim to the French throne. Even if Edward had any valid claim to the French

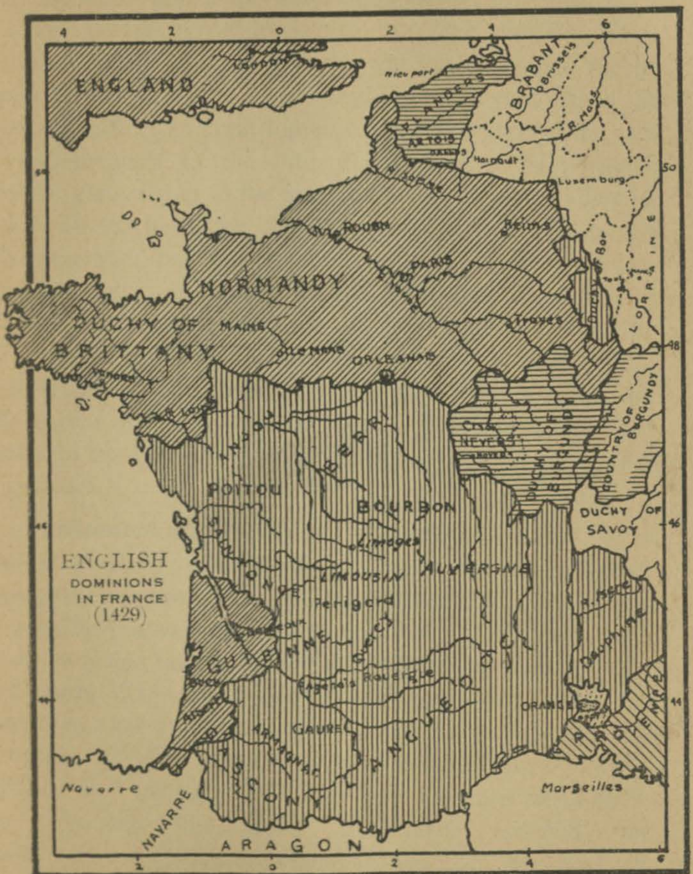
throne, he had renounced it by the treaty of Bretigny. Further, Henry V was not a direct descendant of Edward III; his claim to the English throne rested on Parliament's approval of his father's rising against Richard II. The English Parliament, it might be argued, could settle the English crown on a new line, but that did not entitle Henry V to renew Edward's claim on France. But Henry, however, worked himself into the belief that he had a just claim to the French throne and pursued the war with vigour. He formed an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy and crossing the Channel laid siege to Harfleur (August, 1415) which fell after a heroic defence. Then he marched on towards Calais, but on the way was met by the French at Agincourt. There he won a brilliant victory.

The Battle of Agincourt revived the memories of the English victories under Edward III. The English defeated a much larger number of French men who were stationed on a position of advantage by their brilliant generalship and great courage. Henry followed it up by a systematic occupation of the country. The civil war in France helped him till in 1420 the Treaty of Troys acknowledged him as the Regent to the insane king Charles VI during his life time and as his heir and successor after his death. He also married the French king's daughter, Catherine.

But this triumph was short lived. In 1422 the king died leaving behind him his infant son Henry VI. This gave the French their chance. King Charles VI was also dead, his son Charles VII though disinherited by the Treaty of Troys claimed the French throne and renewed the struggle. Henry VI's regent in France alienated his French allies, but the English still held more than their own, north of the river Loire.

Joan of Arc. A turn in the tide came with the appearance of a peasant girl named Joan of Arc in the field. The French were at the lowest ebb of their fortune, the English seemed to be invincible, Paris was in their hands. They were besieging Orleans in 1428 and the French court lay inactive, unwilling and unable to help. Joan came to the French king Charles VII and told him that she had been sent by God to defeat the English and have him crowned at Reims. Like a drowning man, the king clutched at what seemed to him a floating stra.v. Joan succeeded in convincing the French soldiers that led by her they would be successful in freeing France. The dawning sense of nationalism among the French helped her and she forced the English to raise the siege of Orleans. Soon she had Charles crowned at Reims. But after some time her faith gave way, she no longer remained self-confident. The nobles at court became jealous of her and would not support her. She fell into the hands of Burgundians who were in league with the British and sold her to the English. She was tried and burnt as a witch by the British in 1431. But she had done her work, the French no longer considered the British invincible. Her death gave them a new inspiration, the Burgundians made common cause with their opponents and the British were driven from one province after another. It took the French however twenty-two long years more to drive the British completely out of France. By 1453 the British were left in possession of Calais alone.

The Results of the War. The Hundred Years' War was thus over after all. When the war began the British possessed Guinne, by 1453 it too was lost and the only reminder of English possessions in France remained Calais



ENGLISH DOMINIONS IN FRANCE (1429)

which had been acquired during the war itself. It is thus not unfair to talk of the war as 'one of the most disastrous venture recorded in English history.' The military glory that the British won early in the war was dissipated by the final French victories. The longbow which established the British soldiers as great fighters was superseded by the French artillery in the fifteenth century. The brilliant British generalship of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries was no match for the new French generalship when the Maid had once inspired them. The English success had in reality been due to the distracted condition of France, but the long struggle at last almost united the French into a nation whereas in England it produced that feeling which was so much responsible for the long struggle known as the War of the Roses. The English found it easier to get in, but had to sacrifice a great deal in trying to get out.

Parliament and the War. Indirectly however the War helped England considerably. The constitutional gains during the war were considerable. Edward III and Henry V were both always anxious to conciliate their Parliaments in order to get money for the armies that they had to send to France. This led to many notable victories of Parliament. In 1341 the king consented to proclaim as laws such petitions of the Commons as received his assent without any change. In 1376, led by Peter-de-la Mare the Speaker, the Good Parliament asserted its right to supervise the administration of the country by 'impeaching,' *i.e.*, accusing two of the king's ministers for treachery and corruption. It further elected a Council of twelve to carry on the government of the country. Its work was undone in the follow-

ing year by John of Gaunt with the help of a "packed" Parliament. The Merciless Parliament of 1388, in the reign of Richard II, led by a group of nobles known as Lords Appellants, went a step further and obtained complete control over the King and Government.

The accession of Henry IV still more increased the power of Parliament. He owed his throne to a vote of Parliament and had therefore to recognise its authority. The cost of the war in France as well as of the occupation of the territory left in English hands was much. He was constantly driven to ask Parliament for money, and Parliament in turn made bargains with him every time a grant was made. In 1401 freedom of debate was granted to members. The Commons' demand however that they would not grant the king money until he had reformed the abuses they might complain of was evaded by the king. In 1404 Parliament appointed treasurers to see that the grants made were well spent. In 1406 accountants were appointed to check the accounts and see that the money had been spent as ordered by Parliament. The Commons acquired the most valuable right of granting the money bills first before they were sent up to the Lords in 1407. The same year saw the appointment by Parliament of a council of seventeen. This was however abolished in 1412. Considerable progress was made in constitutional government in this period. But the people were not sufficiently trained to political life.

The rights and powers granted to Parliament by Henry IV and his successors did not work well. The power passed mostly into the hands of the Barons who were selfish and cared most for their own ends.

The Church. The awakening of the national consciousness produced by the Hundred Years' War also

influenced the church legislation of the times. Englishmen began to pay greater regard to the needs of their country, when they felt that their national interests were sacrificed in the interest of others.

The Good Parliament protested against the payments to the Pope. The English clergy refused to send their incomes for the first year to Rome. The matter came to a head by the Statute of Provisors in 1351, which put an end to the Pope's right to appoint foreigners as clergymen in England and thus 'provide' for them. This was followed by the Statute of Præmunire in 1353 whereby recourse to Pope's court in Rome was forbidden in civil cases. In 1366 the annual tribute of 1,000 marks paid to the Pope since John's submission was also stopped.

In order to understand these changes it is well to remember that the church in England in the middle ages was not an autonomous organisation but a part of the Roman Catholic Church of Europe. The Pope was the supreme authority in Church matters all over Europe. As such he not only had the ordering of men's conscience under his control, but was the supreme head of the church government as well. His confirmation was formally necessary for the higher appointments in the church. The decisions in the church cases were always subject to appeal to his court. The bishops and the clergy paid him on their appointment their income for the first year besides several other annual payments. The situation in England had been further complicated by John's defiance and ultimate submission to the Pope. This had necessitated the payment of an annual tribute to the Pope as the feudal lord of England.

The national feeling in England resented this foreign interference even though it followed the accepted religious beliefs of the times. The new legislation did not take away the power of the Pope to appoint clergymen in England; it held illegal his appointment of foreigners to offices of profit in England. The Statute of Præmunire also did not put an end to all suits going to Rome; the Pope could still call religious cases to his court and decide them. It tried to put an end to the practice of the Papal court hearing and deciding in appeal cases from the royal courts. Needless to say these statutes were more important as records of national feeling in England. But as weapons against the Pope they were not very successful.

English language. The growth of national feeling manifested itself in the development of respects for English language. A law was passed by Parliament in 1362 that henceforward English should be used as the court language, instead of French. English also began to be more freely used in parliamentary proceedings. It was employed in the grammar schools as the medium of instruction. Besides these eminent writers like Chaucer and Wycliffe enriched the literature by their valuable contributions. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Wycliffe's translation of the Bible were the early productions of the new literature of the awakened nationality. During the Hundred Years' War England no doubt suffered a great deal but she gained in her national consciousness which found its expression in an alert Parliament, a reconstructted social life, a reformed church and a living literature. The English people became a nation under the the stress of circumstances.

CHAPTER XII

PEASANTS' REVOLT

The Black Death. While Edward III was busy gaining glory for England on the battlefields of France and a place for her kings in the councils of Europe such as they had not enjoyed so far, the country was visited by a great calamity. In 1348 came the plague known as the Black Death in England. It had started from China and by August 1348 it had reached England. Insanitary conditions of the poorer classes led to their catching the infection in the largest number, the clergy who tried to avert the disease and bring consolation to the dying suffered as terribly. It marked the young and the strong as its particular victims. England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales all felt its foul touch in turn.

The total number of deaths from this disease has been variously estimated. It would not be wrong to put the figures at about one-third of the total population at that time. The intensity of its attack of course varied from place to place. Among its victims were members of the royal family, nobles, clergymen; in fact almost every class in society suffered.

The Black Death proved to be a terrible disaster. 'The hundred years which followed witnessed the complete disintegration of the old manorial order'. Its immediate results were important enough. The reduction of the population produced problems which set in motion forces which undermined the old manorial order. The decrease in the number

of labourers naturally affected agriculture, the chief industry of the country. It was difficult to reap the standing harvest or to cultivate the fields afresh now that the number of villeins who formerly did the work decreased enormously. As a result the wages of the free labourers rose at least by fifty per cent. and in some trades by two hundred per cent. Consequently prices increased. But land in England was being cultivated at this time mostly by villeins. They were bound to the land of their landlord, some of them paid him a money rent, but most of them cultivated his land in return for some twelve or thirteen acres of land that each held from him. Before the Black Death the villeins were content whether they paid rent in money or in service. Now, however, they became highly dissatisfied with their position. As the wages rose, they discovered that those among them who had been fortunate enough to make money bargains with their landlords were much better off. Their services to the landlords represented a much higher sum in money. Discontent spread. Before the Black Death they had been forced to live in the manor as there was no great demand for their services elsewhere and as the authorities insisted on sending them back to their lords if their flight was discovered. But the higher wages that they could get everywhere now tempted them to leave their villages and the scarcity of labour made their services acceptable elsewhere without any questions being asked. Thus the disintegration of the old manorial system was accelerated by the flight of the villeins.

The landlords, though willing to pay higher wages for fear of their lands remaining uncultivated, felt the injustice of it. They could not understand why the

villeins should demand so much more simply because so many of their class had perished. Most of them, especially the monks, therefore, insisted that those who were left should render the usual services even if they were unwillingly performed. The wiser among them, however, knew better than that. They made new bargains with their tenants and agreed to higher rates for their services.

Statute of Labourers. But this did not solve the problem of free labour. Try as they would the landlords could not get all their lands cultivated with the help of the existing tenants only. They had to employ free labour. This led to a bitter struggle between the labcurers and the landlords. The landlords insisted that the labourers should work on the wages prevalent before the Black Death, which the labourers flatly refused. The landlords now had recourse to Parliament which passed the famous Statute of Labourers in 1351. It laid down that all able-bodied men and women were to accept work at old rates and were not to leave their masters unless allowed The Government did their best to enforce the statute, but it failed because two masters were running after one man. It was an extremely partisan attempt of the landlord parliament to force down the wages when the cost of daily necessities had increased so much. Further, it represented the first serious attempt to restrict the free movement of labour from place to place.

The failure of the Statute of Labourers accelerated the break-up of the manorial system. The demesne land of the lord of the manor ceased to be worth cultivating under the old conditions. A new

method of agriculture had to be adopted. This led to the leasing out of demesne land to farmers who generally paid their rent in kind. These leases led to further commutation of the services of the villeins for money as the landlord did not stand in need of service rent for his own land. The landlords further tried to solve the problem by turning their land into pastures for sheep. This freed them from the necessity of employing a large number of labourers to cultivate the land, a shepherd and his boy sufficed for looking after the flocks of sheep that they now kept.

The king's revenue also declined on account of the Black Death, as landlords found it difficult to pay the royal taxes and revenues from the export of wool decreased on account of the heavy mortality of sheep.

A large number of clergymen also perished in the Black Death. To replace them, some religious houses were founded at this time, a college was established at Oxford and three at Cambridge. Despite these attempts to fill the ranks of the clergy, the general standard of clerical abilities in England remained low for some time.

Wycliffe. This period of strife between landlords and their labourers witnessed an important upheaval in social life. In the church, affairs took an interesting turn on account of the appearance of John Wycliffe.

Born in 1320, Wycliffe was educated at Oxford where he became Professor of Divinity in 1360. He served for sometime as an English ambassador on the continent in 1374 and when he returned home he had become an aggressive critic of existing church practices. He could not understand the acceptance of secular offices by clergymen

nor could he appreciate the amassing of large properties by monks and clergymen alike. These two malpractices of the age seemed to him to cut at the very root of all spiritual life and he opposed both of them. He proclaimed his doctrine of 'dominion by grace.' He thus held that whatever title to obedience or respect the clergy possessed must be based on their own pure and noble lives. He preached poverty and simplicity to a church that held the larger part of property in the country. Very few of the existing clergymen could stand the test of his doctrine of 'dominion by grace' and he preached against their immoral and wealthy ways. He opposed Pope's claim to contributions from the churches in different Christian countries. The secular implications of his teachings soon gathered a band of nobles round him under the lead of John of Gaunt, the king's cousin. They found in him a useful ally in their attack on the wealth of the church and papal exactions. In 1377 while he was being tried by the bishops for his opinions, John of Gaunt's supporters rushed in and broke up the trial. Till then he had differed but little from the beliefs of the church. Now however came a change. He gave up the Catholic belief in transubstantiation. He refused to believe that the sacrament received at the celebration of the last supper was a part of the body of Christ. Here came the parting of the ways. Some of his supporters, John of Gaunt among them, refused to follow him in these forbidden fields. In 1380 he began his translation of the Bible into English, thus enriching the language with its first great work in prose and also making the fountain head of Christian faith accessible to one and all. Soon after he organized his poor preachers, well educated, pious, simple and

enthusiastic young men who were prepared to go anywhere and everywhere and carry the message of Wycliffe. He died in 1384 as a condemned heretic.

Wycliffe has well been called the Morning Star of Reformation. He laid his finger unerringly on the plague spots in the Church. In his rejection of transubstantiation he anticipated Luther, by his translation of the Bible he weakened the authority of the Church as the sole keeper of God's word, in his insistence on simple, pious and noble ways of life he supplied the weapon which was to rend the Church in two later on.

Lollards. Wycliffe's poor preachers were soon nicknamed Lollards. Under Richard II, they were mostly left to themselves even though it was suggested that some of them had played a part in the Peasants' Revolt. This was due to the fact that his queen was suspected of Lollard sympathies. His successor Henry IV however needed the help of the Church in upholding his parliamentary title to the throne and under him they were persecuted by the Church, though there are only two executions of Lollards on record even in that reign. Under Henry V several of them perished for complicity in a political intrigue. In the reign of Henry VI however Lollardy was suppressed till very few open Lollards remained.

Peasants' Revolt. While Wycliffe was busy in his programme of Church reform Edward III died in 1377. He was succeeded by his grandson Richard, son of the Black Prince. The boy was hardly eleven at the time and the government was carried on by a council. Soon however John of Gaunt, the king's eldest uncle, seized power. The Hundred Years' War still dragged on and money had to be found for its conduct. This led to harsh taxation.

A poll tax was raised in 1379 and another in 1380. Still the situation did not improve. In 1381 for the third year in succession the poll-tax was demanded and this time the rate was made the same, a shilling per head for the rich and the poor alike above the age of fifteen.

This brought to a head the smouldering discontent of the times. The labourers resented the attempts of the landlords to enforce the Statute of Labourers and thus force down the wages. The villeins who still worked on the lords' land were unhappy when they compared their lot with the free labourers who had commuted their work for money payment. Many quarrels arose between the freed tenants paying money rents and the landlords when the latter tried with the help of the lawyers and the justices to pick up holes in the documents granting them freedom from services and tried to compel them to do work for them. Both tried to remove the bonds that seemed to keep them in bondage to their lords. In some towns the inhabitants had long been carrying on a struggle against the manorial lords so that municipal right might be conferred on them.

Elsewhere it was a struggle between those in municipal authority and those outside the pale who now demanded a share in the government of the town. The town labourers as well were feeling the harshness of the medieval organization of industry which kept by the guild system the control of different trades and professions in the hands of the few. Besides the failure of the Government to protect the English possessions in the North against the Scots and in the South against the French rendered itself very unpopular. John of Gaunt, moreover, was far from popular and it

was believed that the king desired to supplant him and would welcome even a rebellion as a means thereof. Teachings of Wycliffe's poor priests especially of John Ball had also stirred into discontent the vague feelings of the poor against the rich. Wycliffe himself had sought shelter under the great nobles, but his priests carried his doctrine of dominion by grace to the property of laymen and they began to declaim against the riches of the propertied classes. A vague type of socialism was thus preached and this added to the discontent of the times. The hatred of the foreigners specially in London fanned the flame.

Such was the state of the country when the Poll Tax trouble of 1381 started. The income from the tax was much less than what was anticipated and when an inquiry was started into the cases of evasion, the result was the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

It was the 'first great struggle between capital and labour' in the country, though 'it furnished a rallying point for all who were stirred by revolutionary fervour or had grievances to redress'.

The rising first gathered force in Essex. As practical Englishmen, the rebels demanded the reduction of money rent to 4d. per acre, freedom of movement, and free markets in the town. The king met them at Mile End, and granted them the liberties that they demanded. The men from Kent led by Wat Tyler marched on to London. They were well under control. The young king, of all the persons in authority, alone kept his head cool. He met the crowd to soothe them. This was followed by some acts of violence under a mistaken notion that the king had allowed them to deal with his faithless servants. The next day the king again rode to meet

them and when the insolent behaviour of Wat Tyler resulted in his death, and a general outbreak was imminent he very coolly put himself at the head of the insurgents and promised them redress. Elsewhere the revolt led to the burning of the manorial papers, and acts of violence against the lawyers, justices, monks and in some places the municipal authorities and of course the lords of the manor.

But the rising was a failure. Richard had sent the rebels home under promises of protection but these did not avail them. The Landlord Parliament of the day refused to confirm the concessions the king had promised them. They had been tricked. Vigorous measures were taken against the rebels in different parts of the country and soon the rising was at an end.

The Peasants' Revolt however had served its purpose. It had declared to all that the modiæval organization of society no longer suited England. The half century that followed saw many similar conflicts between the landlords and the labourers. It was, however, more spectacular than effective in its results. The decay of villeinage that followed had become a matter of course since the days of the Black Death. The Peasant's Revolt did not even accelerate the pace of emancipation of the serfs, it simply served to emphasise the gravity of the situation.

CHAPTER XIII

RISE OF THE LANCASTRIANS

Richard II. Richard II is an enigma in Englsh history. The boy who rode out to meet the rebels in 1381 was soon cowed down when his Council and Parliament told him that they would not respect his word. He even accompanied the judges in their merciless task of binding down the rebels. The same contrariety of character is shown by the king during the rest of his reign as well. In his minority he gathered round him a set of personal friends. The nobles however set out to punish them. The Merciless Parliament of 1388 was packed by the king's enemies under his youngest uncle, Duke of Gloucester. It found his favourites and friends guilty and punished them severely. The king replied by taking the reins of government in his own hands next year and dismissed Gloucester and his party.

For nine long years Richard ruled well. Many important laws were passed during this period, the anti-Papal policy of his predecessor was renewed. In 1396 Richard married a French princess as his second queen, the first having died in 1394. This brought about a truce between England and France. In 1397 the king swiftly turned upon his opponents, several of whom had been admitted to his Council. Some of them were accused of treason and paid the price. Richard was now free. The Shrewsbury Parliament in 1398 made him independent by granting him export duties on wool for life.

Further, Parliament delegated its powers to a committee of eighteen—all king's friends. Richard was now absolute though he owed it to Parliament.

Had Richard made wise use of his powers all would have been well. But he was not yet happy as his revenge on his former opponents was not complete. He seized, on a vain excuse, the two still left out although they had been useful to him in his first attempt at vengeance. John of Gaunt's son, Henry, and Duke of Norfolk were banished in 1398, one for ten years and the other for life. When John died in 1399, Richard confiscated his property. His enemies being thus disposed of Richard went to Ireland to strengthen his position there.

The Revolution of 1399. When he returned all was over with him. Henry, now Duke of Lancaster had returned from exile, landed in England and claimed his inheritance. As he went along towards London, he gathered supporters. This revealed the hollowness of Richard's victory over his opponents. His own officers deserted his cause. The popular levies had no active sympathies for him. No one could be found to stand up fort he king even though Henry was as yet claiming his inheritance only. Richard had challenged the orderly progress of the nation by his absolutism and his waywardness. His absolute reign had inspired insecurity everywhere. Henry had therefore an easy task. Richard surrendered and was made a prisoner. He was made to abdicate, Parliament now met and deposed him accusing him of various crimes. The throne was now vacant. Henry claimed it. He was not the immediate heir to the throne after Richard, but Edmund, Earl of March who was the next in succession was only a boy. Henry had however conquered the country and Parliament was more influenced by the fact that he had

released them from Richard's absolutism. He was elected king accordingly. Thus by an irony of fate a period of absolutism was followed by the highest exercise of parliamentary power, deposition of a king and the election of his successor. Richard was soon after murdered in his prison. He died a martyr to his own ambition and ruthlessness.

Henry IV. The accession of Henry IV made Parliament strong. His only title to the throne was the decision of Parliament calling him to the throne vacated by Richard. Naturally Parliament exerted a greater influence on the course of history under the Lancastrians.

Henry represented a successful rebellion. Now that nothing better than the decision of Parliament could be pleaded in favour of the king, it was not possible to keep men loyal to the throne. As long as Richard was alive, plots were made on his behalf. Even when he was dead, plots continued on his behalf it being asserted that he was still alive. Trouble cropped up in Scotland where the Scots refused to recognise Henry. They were defeated at Homildon Hill in 1402 But this brought about a rebellion at home. Earl of Northumberland and his son—the Percies—who had led the English forces against the Scots rebelled and joined Owen Glendower, the Welsh leader. Defeated at Shrewsbury, the faction lost strength. But their plots and intrigues continued till all the opponents of the king were dead. Owen Glendower, the Welsh leader, managed to escape and though Wales was conquered, he died a freeman.

Henry counted upon the support of the church and Parliament. Both exacted their price. The church kept up a violent demand for putting down Lollardy and Henry had

to persecute the Lollards although he did not succeed in destroying them.

Members of Parliament used his money difficulties for their own purposes. In 1401 they secured freedom of debate in Parliament. They constantly complained of royal influence at elections and sought means to limit it. They criticised every department of king's administration and did not spare even his management of his own household. They started with the proposition that the king should be able to meet his own expenses from his ordinary revenues. When this failed they sought to control the extra-moneys granted. In 1404 treasurers were appointed to see that the king did not spend otherwise the money granted for war in Scotland and Wales. In 1406 they appointed auditors to go into the accounts of the king and satisfy themselves that the grants of 1404 had been spent for the purposes for which they were granted. In 1407 it was decided that all proposals for money to be voted to the king should be first taken up in the House of Commons. They also secured the extension of the right of voting for members of Parliament to freemen. Besides these privileges asked for and granted Parliament asserted many claims—some of them evaded and some ignored—which became important in later years. It was this that 'never before and never again for more than 200 years were the Commons so strong as they were under Henry IV.'

Richard II was married to a French princess, the French court naturally refused to recognise Henry at his accession. But the French were torn asunder by civil war and could not trouble Henry very much. He helped now the Orleanists, now the Burgundians—the two factions

striving for supremacy in France—but took little active interest. His last years were clouded by family discord. He died in 1412 and was succeeded by his eldest son Henry V.

Henry V. Henry V who succeeded his father Henry IV carried on vigorously the war in France as already stated. The dazzling success in the continent kept his subjects busy in foreign problems. His persecution of the Lollards has already been mentioned. He was one of the most popular kings of England—mainly because of his French conquests and easy ways. He tried to conciliate many of the nobles who had given trouble in his father's reign. He built some ships as well, and strengthened the English navy which greatly added to the English trade by protecting it from foreign pirates. Early in the reign a conspiracy was formed in order to put the Earl of March who was in the direct line of descent from Edward III on the throne. It was easily put down and the leaders were beheaded. Henry V was a great leader of men, but he frittered away his energies in what in the end proved to be a useless and barren struggle the the conquest of France. Calais was left as the sole reminder of English victories in France.

When Henry VI grew up to manhood he proved a weak ruler. He inherited strains of insanity from his French grandfather, Charles VI of France and never proved himself fit to hold his own in these turbulent times.

The failure of his government in France made him and his ministers unpopular. Duke of Suffolk, his trusted adviser, was accused by the Commons of treason in 1450. The king for once asserted himself, stopped his trial and made a compromise by sending him into exile

for five years. This did not, however, save the condemned man. While he was leaving the country on a Royal ship, she was overtaken by another ship and he was put to death by her crew.

This was the first sign of the growing anarchy of the times. It was followed by a still more serious outbreak. Jack Cade organised a rising in Kent in 1450. The insurgents declared their object to be the correction of the abuses and the removal of evil counsellors of the king. Twenty thousand men marched towards London protesting against the weakness of the government, heavy taxation, and the Statute of Labourers. It was a political rising and the demand of the insurgents that the Duke of York, the next in succession, be admitted to the council of the king proved that it was a serious attempt at strengthening the king's government. The insurgents defeated a royal army, and killed the hated Lord Treasurer. Londoners were able to defeat them at last though they returned to their home only when a promise of pardon had been made to them. This proved illusory. Cade was soon killed and the risings in other parts of the kingdom were crushed.

Jack Cade's rebellion brought to the forefront a question that had been troubling people for some time past. Henry was till then childless. At the time of his death in France in 1422 an infant had been born who succeeded him as Henry VI. Richard, Duke of York, was a nearer descendant of Edward III than Henry VI. He had proved himself a strong and successful ruler in France and in Ireland.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

Henry VI. When Henry V died at an early age of 34 he left behind him an infant. So strong, however, was his hold on his subjects, and so great was the respect in which they held him, that there was no trouble about the succession. He had appointed two regents for the young king—two of his uncles—Duke of Bedford to look after his interest in France and Duke of Gloucester in England. Parliament, however, upset this arrangement and appointed Duke of Bedford as his sole regent in France as well as in England, allowing Duke of Gloucester to represent his brother in England in his absence in France. The controlling force in England however was Cardinal Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, and with him were associated his nephews, the Beaufort brothers, Earl of Somerset and Earl of Suffolk. With the help of the Queen the Beauforts succeeded in getting Gloucester condemned (1447) and Duke of York exiled to Ireland. Cardinal Beaufort who was a man of moderate temperament died the same year and subsequently the loss of the French possessions brought disgrace upon Somerset and Suffolk. The latter was impeached, banished from England and murdered on the way. The Beauforts were removed from power by the rival faction f the Mortimers of whom Richard, Duke of York, was der.

already seen how the English lost their


ENGLAND
DURING THE WARS OF
THE
ROSES
EDINBOURGH
Berwick
IRELAND
of Man
Revenspur
The Wash
Shrewsbury
BRISTOL CHANNEL
R. Thames
SOUTHAMPTON
L. of Wight
Hastings
FRANCE

dominions in France by 1453. But Henry was still young and he could never govern his turbulent subjects himself and the popular clamour for Richard, Duke of York, proved that in him the Englishmen of the times recognized the coming man.

The War of the Roses came soon after as a consequence of the rivalry of the two houses of the Beauforts and the Mortimers. The king went mad and in 1453, Duke of York was made his Protector and he did his best to secure himself without unduly alarming his opponents. Meanwhile a son had been born to the queen of Henry VI and Richard recognised him as the Prince of Wales. All might have been well but for the restoration of the king's reason in 1354. Soon after the queen made an attempt to exclude Richard from the king's Council with the help of the Duke of Somerset. Richard rose in self-defence to maintain his right to be summoned to Parliament. The Battle of St. Albans fought in alliance with Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick secured his position as Somerset was killed and the king taken prisoner; and he became regent again in 1455 due to king's relapse into insanity. But the queen again alarmed York when the king regained his reason in 1456. After some more skirmishes York found himself driven to claim the throne. His claim to succeed Henry excluded the claims of the king's son Edward. The queen, however, did not accept the inevitable, she gathered the royal troops and within two months at the battle of Wakefield Richard, Duke of York was slain (1460).

This might have brought the quarrel to an end. But the war had set forces in motion which could not be easily checked. It began as a constitutional protest of Richard against his exclusion from the king's council.

The failure of the Government in France and the lack of government at home had made the king's ministers deservedly unpopular. People looked upon York as a deliverer. The birth of Edward stood in his way to the throne. The intrigues of the queen and the king's unpopular minister provided him with an excuse for continuing the struggle. Henry's weakness of character now had its effect. Had he been a strong man, he might have asserted himself and secured York as a loyal councillor. But he was unfortunately weak—another Edward the Confessor in a turbulent age. Had times been different Richard might have accepted his exclusion from the council. But the nobility had been to France, they had fought there against the French. A spirit of lawlessness had been produced among them and they were anxious to resort to war on any pretext or excuse. Further the nobles had, due to various causes, come to be divided into two great factions which centred round Dukes of Somerset and York. The turbulent spirit of these 'over mighty' subjects came into play at the least plausible excuse and here was one that they could have hardly missed. Added to them all was the problem of the dynastic struggle. Henry IV's line was threatened with extinction in 1453 and Richard of York was his next heir. But when the birth of Edward put an end to his claim, his supporters tried to trace it to Edward III. Henry IV's title—and therefore that of Henry VI's as well—to the throne was parliamentary, and Richard now began to assert his claim as the nearest descendant of Edward III. Henry IV had ascended the throne by violence. All through the Lancastrian period the constant series of rebellions and risings constituted a rude reminder of the fact that people had not forgotten Lancastrian origins.

Here was a chance of applying the same principle against the Lancastrians and Richard was not the man to let it slip.

But Richard lay dead at Wakefield. His son Edward now claimed the throne. He was helped by the Neville family at that time counting 5 peers in a House of fifty. The Nevilles were related to many nobles and they found a solid block in that ever changing group of nobles. Richard, Earl of Warwick had adopted the Yorkist cause, now that Richard of York was dead, he became the virtual leader of the Yorkists. The queen had been able to defeat the Yorkists at the second battle of St. Albans in 1461 and release Henry, but she did not venture to go to London, which Edward and Richard, Earl of Warwick were bold enough to enter. In March, 1461, Edward was proclaimed king as Edward IV.

Triumph of the Yorkists. Warwick had put Edward, a boy of nineteen on the throne. If he expected the new king to be always grateful to him, he was like Bairam Khan in Akbar's days, soon undeceived. As long as Henry VI was at large and there was the chance of a successful Lancastrian Revolution Edward remained duly submissive. By 1465 Henry had been made a prisoner to the Tower and the queen became a fugitive in France

But Edward had offended Warwick already. The battle of Hexham which drove the Lancastrians to desperation was fought on May 15, 1464. The king had married secretly Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Lord Rivers, and widow of Sir John Grey belonging to the Lancastrian party on May 1, 1464. The secret was kept for five months and was disclosed only when Edward was hard pressed and asked to marry the sister of the French queen.

This was the beginning of the quarrel between the young king and the old king-maker. Warwick thought that he had been befooled and ceased to confide in the king. The king replied by asserting that he could do without the king-maker. The new queen had been a widow and had Lancastrian relations. Edward however lavished honours and offices on them, apparently to counterbalance the Nevilles. The last thing that brougnt about the cleavage was when Edward allowed Warwick to leave for France in order to enter into a French alliance, but who announced on his return that he had already entered into an alliance with the opposing party, *viz.*, that of the Duke of Burgundy. Edward managed to counteract the mischief by marrying his own sister Margaret to the Duke.

Warwick now rose in rebellion in 1468. At Edgecot he defeated the king who fell into his hands a prisoner. But the next move in the game proved more difficult. Though Warwick had Clarence, king's younger brother and his own son-in-law in his camp, it proved difficult to displace Edward. He was released and was reconciled to Warwick. This forced reconciliation however did not last long. Edward was biding his time. When he felt strong enough he fell upon Warwick and Clarence who were driven to France in 1470. But Warwick had not yet shot his last arrow. In France he gave up Clarence whom he had been promising the throne and got reconciled to his old enemy, Henry VI's queen, Margaret. These new allies marched upon London and compelled Edward to leave the country. Henry VI was now brought out from the tower and placed upon the throne of England in 1470.

Meanwhile Edward was busy gathering allies on the

continent. His brother-in-law, Duke of Burgundy lent him troops, and the Hanseatic League lent him money with which he engaged more troops. He landed in England in March, 1471 and was soon joined by many of his former supporters. On April 14, 1471, the two armies came face to face at Barnet. In a fiercely contested battle, Warwick fell and Edward emerged victorious. Henry VI was taken prisoner and soon after murdered by the kings' younger brother and the future Richard III, Duke of Gloucester. Meanwhile Margaret who had all this time been in France landed in England with her son, prince Edward. At the battle of Tewkesbury on May 4, 1471 Lancastrian hopes were finally shattered and the house of York was now safe on the throne. For twelve long years more Edward ruled till 1483. In 1478 he accused his younger brother Clarence of treason. After the fashion of those days Clarence was found murdered a fortnight later in the Tower and Edward was troubled no more.

But meanwhile Edward had made certain other bargains. Unlike the Lancastrians he ceased to depend upon Parliament and in 1473 he introduced the custom of extorting benevolences, or forced loans never meant to be repaid, from his rich subjects. In 1475 he made ready for war with France on behalf of the Duke of Burgundy and got large subsidies from Parliament. When in France, he deserted the Burgundian cause, for £25,000 down and a pension of £10,000 a year from the French king.

Edward did not prove himself a strong ruler except where royal interest was concerned. He allowed the nobles to carry on the factious fight without check or control. He wanted similar liberty for himself as well and

sanctioned the use of torture in judicial trials. He frequently interfered in the course of judicial proceedings though he tried his best to keep some sort of law and order in the country.

His commercial policy encouraged trade in England though not English trade. In 1473 he entered into a treaty with the Hanseatic League by which he allowed them to import goods at 'their ancient customs rates.' He further allowed them to turn their factories in London into an independent and sovereign unit governed by its own customs free from the interference of the Londoners.

Edward promoted advancement of learning. When Caxton set up his printing press, he found in the king a great patron and in his courtiers great helpers. The new learning that was at thist ime spreading all over Europe was welcomed in England by the king and his courtiers.

When the king tried to interfere in Scotland he was not very much successful though Berwick that had been bartered away by Margaret for Scottish help was regained in 1482. In 1483 while he was preparing for a war against France he died leaving behind him a minor son.

Edward V. Edward IV was succeeded by his young son Edward V. His uncle Richard, Duke of Gloucester became his regent, Richard wasan able fighter and a successful ruler but in that age of ruthless men he was one of the most ruthless. He had served Edward ever faithfully and in the last years of his reign he had been his brother's main support in the work of the government. But when Edward IV died he competed for the regency of his young son, the new king, Edward V, against his mother, and with the support of the nobles he won that position.

But even before Edward V could be crowned Richard's

ambition had led him astray. He now began to throw dark hints about the legitimacy of his nephew. The legality of the marriage between Elizabeth Woodville and Edward IV was questioned on rather flimsy grounds. But the rising sun has its worshippers. Richard was able to gather round him a large number of supporters. He began by killing Edward V's relatives on his mother's side and then murdered Earl of Hastings, the only nobleman who he thought might thwart his ambition. Then he packed a Parliament and got it to declare that Edward was not the legitimate king. The next step was to get himself acclaimed king by Parliament. This done Richard ascended the throne in June 1483. Like the successful Mughal Princes in India, he now resorted to murder in removing Edward V and his younger brother and shocked thereby even his contemporaries who were so used to the cruel practices of the age.

Richard III. His murders apart, Richard tried to conciliate his subjects. He declared benevolences illegal and made some attempt at staying the highhandedness of the nobles. He also took steps to promote trade and commerce. But his crimes pursued him. The death of his only son and heir and of his queen undid all his plans, as he was left without an heir.

The Wars of the Roses had made murder an art and each party had always tarred its victory by inevitable murder and attainder of its opponents. The number of peers had decreased from about a hundred to fifty and those that had disappeared counted among them some of the noblest. This explains the claim of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond to the throne through his mother Margaret Beaufort.

A Welshman himself Henry proved to be the nearest Lancastrian claimant to the throne. He was able to gather

a respectable force round him and landed in Wales from his exile in Brittany. Richard had estranged his own supporters by his violence, the mass of the English people were not with him, his own officials and ministers deserted him at the critical moment. He resembled his namesake Richard II in this respect. When Henry Tudor challenged the royal army at Bosworth Field in 1485 Richard was doomed. Henry Tudor defeated him with the help of his stepfather Lord Stanley. Richard was killed and Henry was at once proclaimed king as Henry VII. This brought the Wars of the Roses to a close.

The thirty years of strife from 1455 to 1485 form a series of base desertions, cruel murders and mean revenges. The nobles were fighting now for this side, now for that, there was nothing high to guide their steps. Opportunists most of them, many changed sides with bewildering rapidity. Henry VI, Edward IV, then Henry VI followed by Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III all formed a rather interesting group of kings. But the war was mostly the peers' affairs. They formed and reformed themselves into opposing groups leaving the commoners severely alone. Thus the bulk of the English people lived usually undisturbed except when the two opposing factions took it into their head to fight out their claims near their homes. Thus the old feudal nobility ruined themselves during the Wars of the Roses. Their number decreased, many of the existing peers were new creations owing their titles to the Lancastrian or Yorkist kings. With the decrease in their number their influence with the crown and their share in shaping the course of political history naturally diminished. The clergy who might have formed the rallying point in this useless struggle lost all influence as they had failed to play any decisive part in the war. Those among them

who had held secular offices had proved as treacherous and as cruel as their lay brethren. Naturally the Commons were left alone in Parliament. But just then their main concern was peace. They were tired of the continuous strife among the nobles, they had known the great nobles to be a greater source of danger to the peace of the country than her kings. Thus not only did the nobles commit political suicide they very nearly brought to an end the development of parliamentary government. The failure of the Lancastrian experiment followed by the Wars of the Roses allowed the new monarchy established by Henry Tudor opportunities which it would not have otherwise enjoyed. Yet it would not be far wrong to say that the Wars of the Roses provided a rather drastic remedy for the ills which were eating into the vitals of the English nat on. Not even the godless days of Stephen had demonstrated what was worst in feudalism so completely as these thirty years of continuous warfare. The Hundred Years, War was responsibie for creating a factious spirit among the great nobles which nothing else probably could have cured. These overmighty subjects of the king were fast becoming a nuisance and it is to the Wars of the Roses that we owe the fact that England was at last saved from the dire fate that threatened it.

It was but natural that the long years of warfare should weaken the administrative system already none too strong. The war provided an excuse for many acts of gross injustice. The judges were corrupt, partial or overawed, the juries proved dishonest, the coroners would not record murder without a consideration, and the sheriffs proved incompetent. The machinery of government came very near the breaking point, during the disastrous years.

HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

Henry III (1216—1272).

- Edward I (1272 1307)
  - Edward II (1307—1327)
    - Edward III (1327—1377)
      - 1 Edward the Black Prince
        - Richard II (1377—1399)
      - 2 Lionel, Duke of Clarence
        - Philippa m. Earl of March
          - Roger Mortimer
            - Edmund, Earl of March
            - Anne m. Richard, of Earl Cambirdge
              - Richard, Duke of York
                - Edward IV (1461—1483)
                  - Edward V (1483)
                  - Elizabeth m. Henry VII (1485—1509)
                - Richard III (1583—1485)
      - 4 Edmund, Duke of York
        - (Richard, of Earl Cambirdge)
      - 3 Katharine m John of Gaunt m Blanche
        - Katharine Swynford m. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster
          - John Beaufort Earl of Somerset
            - John Beaufort Duke of Somerset
              - Margaret m. Edmund Tudor Earl of Rich mond
                - Henry VII (1485—1509)
        - John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster m. Blanche
          - Henry IV (1399—1413)
            - Henry V (1413—1422)
              - Henry VI (1422—1471)
- Edmund, Earl of Lancaster
  - Henry, Earl of Lancaster
    - Henry, Duke of Lancaster
      - Blanche

CHAPTER XV

END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The fifteenth century marked the close of the Middle Ages. The Bosworth Field in England separates the old from the new so well that the new line of kings that came to the throne has been called the New Monarchy. It would be well to look back a little and survey the state of society about this time.

Society. Society towards the end of the fifteenth century was divided into classes, the distinctions of which were dissolving slowly and steadily. There was the king with a handful of nobles who survived the Wars of the Roses. The place of the nobles in society was challenged at this time by the appearance of two factors of gradual evolution. The Wars of the Roses and the earlier dynastic struggles of the Lancastrians as well as the vogue for favourites—persons bound by ties of self-interest and gratitude to the king—had created the new nobility partly official, partly social. This new factor apart, the importance of the nobility was diminished by the rise of the middle class. The growing volume of trade and industry in the country had produced rich citizens secure of a favourable social position. The villeins of old had given place to a rather bewildering group of English citizens. These included farmers, tenants, labourers, and shepherds. The old vestiges of villeinage had almost disappeared by this time, service rents were a thing

of the past, the villeins moved freely because the lords no longer needed them so badly.

Agriculture. Agriculture was the chief industry of the country and land was still cultivated in the open fields. Some land had been enclosed for sheep farming in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Towards the end of the period, however, enclosing of the waste and common land by the lords was becoming common to the detriment of other inhabitants of the village. The manorial system had almost broken down. The demesne land of the lord was being cultivated mostly by stock and land leases by farmers who partly did the work themselves and partly employed free labourers. The villein's land was usually being cultivated as a 'copyhold' lease from the lord on a money rent—copyhold because the cultivator was granted a copy of the deed counting his services for money. The number of the labourers had increased enormously and sheep farming had brought into prominence the question of unemployment. The Statute of Labourers had brought in the State as the regulator of wages though in the end it failed in its object.

Trade and Industry. Trade and industry had developed very much by this time. The export of wool had been actively discouraged, Edward IV had imported Flemish workmen and manufacture of woollen cloth had since then been actively encouraged. This led to the decline of the staple towns so long prosperous due to the large amount of export of wool. Manufacture of silk had also been undertaken by this time and so important had it become before the close of the

century that the import of Italian silk was prohibited in 1455.

Guilds. The organisation of industry changed a good deal. The old craft guilds that admitted almost every master worker had now become the selfish clubs of the richer manufacturers. This drove out the smaller craftsmen from the towns into the country. The apprentice 'journeymen'—labourers—were no longer cheered by the thought of settling down as independent craftsmen. Doomed to the lot of hired labourers all their lives they had banded themselves into guilds of their own—the predecessors of the trade-unions of the nineteenth century. Some of the richer woollen manufacturers had turned into capitalists owning a hundred looms or so, housed in their own factories, employing two to five hundred labourers.

Carrying trade. Woollen manufacture led to a great increase in English trade. English men were no longer content to leave their trade into the hands of foreigners and there was a growing opposition to the privileges enjoyed by foreign traders in England. This at last led to the rise of merchant adventurers banded together under royal charters for the purpose of carrying on English foreign trade. The absence of a strong navy able to protect the English shipping placed the duty of policing the seas on the traders, but the merchant adventurers were able to force their way into Norway and other Baltic states capturing even part of the German trade, despite strong opposition. Trade with Spain and Portugal and France also increased and English merchants made attempts to force their way into the Mediterranean.

Architecture. The emergence of the new rich was

accompanied by many signs of growing prosperity. More ornate churches in 'the perpendicular' style were built—spacious, ornametal, yet standardized as if after a commercial pattern. Better and commodious houses—as distinct from the forts of the earlier period—came to be built. In towns streets were planned and in some places a crude attempt was made to ensure some sort of sanitation. Guildhalls, moot halls and similar buildings for corporate purposes were also raised at this time.

Education. In the field of education some notable advance was made. Eton was founded and the number of Grammar schools had increased. Since the middle of the fourteenth century English was being used as the medium of instruction replacing Latin and French. English had also become the court language and it was in English now that the king addressed his subjects in Parliament and they used it in their own proceedings as well. Literacy was spreading. Not only the clergy, but the merchants were becoming learned enough, the agents of the lords of the manor kept tolerably good accounts, even artisans were getting their share of education. Education for the girls was coming to be provided. The colleges at Oxford and Cambridge had now blossomed into universities, though even thus serious seekers after knowledge had to go abroad to 'finish' their education.

Fine Arts. English Literature of the Middle Ages did not only become respectable but attained a permanent place in literary history. *Piers Plowman* of Langland, and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* were written in the fourteenth century Langland's work is a very reliable picture of English life in the fourteenth century. Chaucer's Tales and other writings

present the same picture from another point of view and the two supplement each other. They wrote in verse, it was left to Wycliffe to become the founder of English prose. His translation of the Bible was the first great achievement in English prose and proved what could be done in the same direction. Malory wrote his *Morte de Arthur* in 1470 stringing the current and half-forgotten legends together and thus making them a permanent part of English tradition.

Before the Middle Ages closed, the printing press had been invented and brought over to England. It played the same part in destroying the clerical monopoly of learning as the long-bow and artillery in the destruction of the military superiority of the feudal barons. By making books cheaper, it extended the world of knowledge as never before.

In the allied arts of Painting and Music the fifteenth century was remarkable. The new buildings—churches, houses, municipal halls—all brought into display much painting talent though most of it was lost for ever during the Reformation. In music Dunstable, the father of modern music in Europe, became the first great composer and maintained the honour of 'Merry England.'

The Church. The church alone suffered from a decadence unknown elsewhere. Partly because it drew its recruits from the ranks of the nobility, partly because it was becoming immensely rich, it had ceased to play any very important part in English life. Besides the regular clergy—the archbishops, bishops, rectors and vicars—the monasteries sheltered a large number of clergymen. The wealth of the church drove its best talents to the business of management, many of its shining lights were drawn into the service of the king. The parish

church, however, remained the centre of many kinds of benevolent activities. It looked after the poor. Over seven hundred hospitals looked after the needy and the sick. The monasteries sometimes served as great schools.

The Fifteenth Century. Thus the fifteenth century if 'a century of gloom and humiliation' except for the victories of Henry V, did nevertheless record remarkable achievements. England now took her place definitely among the manufacturing states of the times, she ceased to be dependent for her trade on her neighbours and captured her own carrying trade. The Manor was disappearing, the craft guilds were dissolving, and the English middle class was slowly rising into prominence thus enabling the Tudors to carry on their government through loyal officials, yet laying the foundation of the temper that later on defied the Stuarts. Thus in 1485 all the elements had come together that were to make up Modern England.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW MONARCHY

The Yorkist Pretenders. When Henry Tudor picked up Richard III's crown on the Bosworth Field men were far from being sure that the Wars of the Roses were over. Henry soon got himself crowned, summoned a Parliament which passed an Act declaring him the king. Soon he married Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Edward IV and thus added the Yorkist claim in his person. Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, Edward IV's younger brother, was another substantial claimant to the throne and Henry had him imprisoned. For another fifteen years Yorkist partizans remained busy plotting against him, but their efforts were marred by the fact that they had no rival claimant to the throne to put forward. This did not however cool down their zeal. In their extremity, they were driven to a very bold imposture. Earl of Warwick was a prisoner in the Tower. But Henry's enemies were either too bold or too rash to take this fact into account. In 1487 they put forward Lambert Simnel as the Earl of Warwick. He was crowned as Edward VI in Ireland and carried over to England. He however was defeated at Stoke. Henry registered his contempt for this ill-conceived attempt at ousting him by giving Lambert Simnel a place in the royal kitchen. In 1492, his Yorkist enemies became bolder still. Perkin Warbeck appeared in Ireland and

proclaimed himself as the second son of Edward IV, said to have been murdered by Richard III. He was accepted as such by the King of France, Duke of Burgundy, and the King of Scotland, Henry's foreign enemies at the time. Henry however proved too powerful for his enemies. He put pressure upon the King of France so that the latter was at last compelled to drive away the pretender. Next he turned to Flanders and used English trade as the lever for compelling the Duke of Burgundy to give up his pseudo-relative. James IV of Scotland however invaded the English frontier on behalf of "Warwick" who soon landed in Cornwall in 1497. He was defeated at Taunton and at last surrendered to Henry VII. Henry proved that he was not afraid of his enemies by imprisoning Perkin after he had signed a confession acknowledging his imposture. In 1499 he was captured while he was planning escape from the Tower, and executed. Earl of Warwick was also implicated in the alleged plot to escape and to seize the throne and was accordingly executed—an innocent victim to the political necessities of Henry VII. Thus 'not a single drop of doubtful royal blood remained in England,' Henry was at last safe and the dynastic struggles in England were over.

Barons and Henry. But the removal of rival claimants to the throne was the least important of Henry's work. He had founded a new dynasty and it could thrive not on the bloodshed of victims—royal or otherwise—but on its achievements in the field of peace and order. Here the greatest problem lay in making it impossible for the feudal barons to bring about another War of the Roses. Times were favourable. The greater part of the baronage lay dead on the battlefields or in

the public hanging places. The few surviving nobility were thus rendered naturally weak. But the war had impoverished them and they could not stand together on account of their jealousies. The king's train of artillery—the only one in the kingdom—made their castles defenceless against its thunder. They had been wont to keep a large number of men as their retainers and a still larger number of the freemen and smaller landlords of the neighbourhood had bound themselves as their men and to bear their livery. They were a source of great danger to the peace of the country. But in return for this sign of dependence the great barons used to 'maintain' their liverymen *i.e.*, protect them from the effects of their evil doing by preventing the courts from punishing them for their misdeeds. The king passed acts against both these evil practices of Livery and Maintenance and what was better took care that they were stopped and the execution was entrusted to the Court of the Star Chamber, established in 1497. It was a committe of the Great Council with two judges added to it and became a prerogative court. The Star Chamber kept the Barons in check, improved the administration of justice by calling corrupt juries and incompetent judges to account and proved a well-needed protection for all the aggrieved rich and poor. It proved the most successful of Henry's instruments for restoring peace and order.

Privy Council. Henry further weakened the position of the Barons by forming an inner circle of his advisers known as the Privy Council. He called only men of his own choice to advise him on important matters, and the nobility as such had no claim to be invited. It was his policy to exclude the aristocracy from responsible positions in the state. Under Henry's able direction, the

Privy Council came to be of a strong body of king's counsellors—owing their places to him and drawn from the ranks of clergymen, lawyers and country gentlemen. He increased the power of the Council by entrusting into its its hands the general direction of government under his guidance and supervision. The nobles were too weak to protest, the middle classes and common people were thankful to it for ensuring peace and prosperity. It used as its instrument the Justices of Peace— nominated by the king fromamong the country gentlemen to work for him without payment. The new Justices of Peace took the place of the old sheriffs, and became very important functionaries under the Tudors. Parliament of course, was called as necessity arose though not so regularly as in the period from 1330 to 1450. People also had not much interest in it as its deliberations were held under the guidance of the Privy Council. Henry devised plans of collecting money without reference to Parliament. He was able to avoid calling Parliament in the latter half of his reign. Fines, forfeitures, revenues from the royal estates, benevolences, feudal dues, export and import duties granted to him for life enabled him to be independent of Parliament financially and to leave a rich treasury behind.

Popular feelings. But Henry founded no despotism. If he was left to do what he liked, it was because he always took particular care not to overstep the law except in the matter of benevolences. He and his successors were always able to determine with a nicety 'the limits of popular endurance' and never put too strong a pressure upon people's loyalty. Fortunately for England, the royal ambition to concentrate all power into the king's hands coincided with the popular demand for order. The king

took good care to keep up and revive all ancient institutions through which Englishmen enjoyed power. The Privy Council, Justices of Peace, Militia, Parliament all were now made efficient parts of a strong centralized government and made to serve one object *viz.* to make the people happy by increasing the authority of the crown.

But Henry not only tried to remedy the old abuses but inaugurated several new measures. His reign marked as much the beginning of a new life as the end of the old factious strife. His commercial policy did a good deal to encourage English trade. He made treaties with France, Flanders, Denmark and Florence whereby he was able to secure for Englishmen their due share in the carrying trade of the world as also an entry of English woollen cloth into the different parts of Europe. He managed to reduce the power of the foreign merchants in England without unduly alarming them. The Navigation Laws of 1485 decreed that trade in French wines to England should be carried in English ships alone. He brought the guilds under control by making their regulations subject to the approval of the royal judges. The Justices of Peace were given extensive power under the Privy Council to supervise trade and manufacture. In agriculture he tried to stop enclosures of land by an Act of 1489. The turning of arable land into pastures was to add to the number of the unemployed in the country and help depopulation. Henry tried to stem the rising tide of agricultural discontent by these measures.

Foreign Policy. In his foreign policy Henry sought to secure for himself the recognition of foreign monarchs and to secure for England a place in the everchanging alliances of the times. He had to be cautious in the first

part of his reign, in order to persuade the foreign courts to refuse protection to the numerous claimants to the English throne. The treaty of Etaples (1492) with France expelled Warbeck from there and by the Magnus Intercursus of 1496 he was deprived of all support from Flanders. With Spain Henry courted friendship. In 1502 Arthur, Prince of Wales, married Catharine of Aragon. The Prince died soon after. The king thereupon made the Pope sanction the marriage of his second son Henry to his widowed sister-in-law Catharine.

Anglo-Scottish relations did not start well. James of Scotland began his hostilities by helping Perkin Warbeck but Henry was able to conciliate him. Soon after in 1503 Margaret Tudor, the king's daughter was married to King James IV of Scotland. Just a century after, this marriage proved to be the cause of uniting the crowns of England and Scotland in the person of James VI of Scotland, a grandson of Margaret.

Trade and Commerce. Henry tried to build an efficient if not a large navy and to increase the use of larger and better ships by English merchants by actively assisting them with money. The Navigation Acts of the reign safeguarded the interests of the English sailors whose descendants beat the Spaniard in the Channel. He tried to take part in the then fashionable voyages of discovery by commissioning John Cabot, a Venetian, to discover the westward route to India. Cabot discovered New Foundland not India, and its fisheries added to the wealth of England.

Henry VII died in 1509, mourned of none. He was not a popular ruler. The task he was entrusted with could not have made him so. Winning a country at Bosworth

Field, he was able to bequeath it undisturbed to his successor in 1509. He had laid low the ashes of civil war and disorder for which England had been notorious among European nations. He had curbed the barons and moulded the Privy Council into a pliant tool in the king's hands. His commercial policy laid the foundation of the English trade overseas. He captured a share of the carrying trade of Europe, encouraged manufacture, and helped the growth of commercial relations with other countries. His naval programme constituted the first English enterprise at seas that later on obtained the mastery of the seas from the Spaniard. His marriage alliances proved more fruitful than he could have foreseen. The marriage of his son Henry and Catharine became the occasion of English breach with Rome and led to the Reformation. Marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV united the English and Scottish crowns in 1603 under King James. Apart from these results, he was able to secure for himself a respectable place among European monarchs. He had succeeded in founding the New Monarchy.

The Middle Ages. The end of the fifteenth century saw the birth of the Modern Age. The Middle Ages were characterised in England as elsewhere by a respect for authority. Nations and much less individuals counted for little in comparison with the hold of the Church. In political and social spheres the people were divided into groups and lived in different estates according to their economic and social position. Princes divided Europe among themselves rather than allow national feelings to determine state boundaries. Usually within the state, the nobles were the strongest. Here and there strong kings attained prominence and tried to bridle the unruly barons

The Church was under the authority of the Pope. Laymen had very little concern with the Church matters, they were taught to accept without question the official interpretation of Christian principles. Monasteries and nunneries which at one time rendered much beneficent service gradually deteriorated, and their number increased without much apparent benefit to the people.

Education ceased to be the monopoly of the Church. Latin was the language of the scholars, though in England, English also was coming into prominence. There was not much evidence of real scholarship Flights of fancy and imagination were restricted by respect for authority. Speculation had very little scope when everything had to be judged by the Bible.

Trade and industry were guided by craft and guild regulations. Every master-workman made it his business to shut out the outsiders, and to restrict the number of apprentices. The Middle Ages formed an age of authority —a period of status.

Renaissance. People submitted to these conditions because they knew no better. But in Italy survived a tradition of scholarship. Search for ancient Greek manuscripts led to the foundation of the Papal library in the fifteenth century and soon Italian scholars began to read classical literature in original Greek. In 1453, Constantinople was captured by the Turks from the Greeks. This led to the dispersal of the Greek scholars to different parts of Europe. Thus the study of Greek classics was carried to the different parts of Western Europe under the direction of these refugee scholars. This revival of learning had manifold effects. It freed men's minds from the bondage of authority. The study of

the Greek philosophers led men's mind into new fields of thought and speculation. Literature, painting, architecture, all benefitted from the new movement. By the end of the century, the wave of Renaissance had travelled over to England. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge provided a fit home for new scholars. Colet at Oxford and Erasmus at Cambridge introduced the study of the Bible in Greek, and prepared the ground for its better understanding. Other fields of scholarship were also soon investigated Medicine, political philosophy, and history all received a new impulse. Schools were founded in order to perpetuate the new learning and its achievements. Sir Thomas More's *Utopia,* though written under Henry VIII, is probably the best English production of the age, in which he discusses the problems of government with a freedom unknown before.

For the full flowering of the Renaissance we must wait till the end of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile let us note that the movement was much helped by the invention of the printing press The scarcity of books had been a very great obstacle in the spread of knowledge, but the press enabled several copies of a book to be printed and made available cheaply. Naturally this proved a great boon. The ideas of the new writers now spread with a rapidity not possible before. Caxton learnt the art of printing abroad while in the Netherlands and in 1476 he set up a printing press at Westminster. His works were patronized by many influential nobles. This helped him very much and soon he was able to supply a constant flood of literature, ancient and modern, from his press. His example was followed by others and before

the end of the fifteenth century many printing presses had been established in the country.

Gun powder. The Renaissance liberated men's minds from their slavery to authority. Gun powder, the use of which was becoming common in the latter half of the fifteenth century attacked authority in social life which the feudal strength of the nobility lay in their castles. It was always a difficult task to reduce a rebellious baron in his stronghold had naturally made him powerful. But the use of gun powder destroyed his security. The castles became defenceless before a pack of artillery which the kings took care to keep in their own hands. In England, of course, feudal supremacy in arms had been challenged by the longbowmen who had got their laurels on the battlefields of France. But the gun powder put the finishing touch to the vanishing glory of a class that had outlived its usefulness.

Voyages of Discovery. The mariner's compass was another progenitor of the modern age. Men dared not sail far distant from the coast lest they might lose the sense of direction. But mariner's compass which was brought over from China enabled seamen to fix up their course and freed them from the uncertainty of mere visual guesses. Naturally it became possible to undertake long voyages now with an assurance wholly lacking before.

And the need for these long voyages was also being felt. When the Turks captured Constantinople, they closed the overland routes to India and farther East. The spice trade with the East was an important factor in European life then. The biting cold of the winter made it impossible to keep sheep or cattle. It was

usual to slaughter them just before the winter had set in, and keep the meat handy throughout winter by spicing it. The spices then occupied a very important place in the lives of the Europeans. Naturally the blocking of the overland route led to many attempts at discovering an alternative route to India. This could only be done by sailing on the broad seas. It was believed that they would at last reach East India by sailing. Thus began a series of voyages of discovery all meant to find out the way to India. Columbus under the patronage of the Spanish King sailed west with this object in view. He instead discovered the West Indies in 1492. India was reached by the Portuguese Vaso da Gama in 1498 by rounding the Cape of Good Hope. Thus the Portuguese captured the trade with the East. The Spaniards continued the success that had followed the efforts of Columbus and discovered the main land of America. Soon they came to establish themselves in South America where the discovery of silver added to its attraction.

England did not play any important part in the early discoveries. Cabot had discovered New Foundland and thus added a valuable fishery to the English possession. But the Pope awarded by a bull the newly discovered East to Portugal and the West to Spain. This shut off the other races from the routes which the Spaniard and the Portuguese were using. Then began a frantic though useless effort, to reach India by the north east.

The voyages of discovery opened out men's mind to the possibility of new regions to conquer. The contact with the living civilisation of the East had also its effects. Europeans now discovered that the world was a much

bigger place than they had imagined it to be. But it hit the Mediterranean states hard. This new route to the East naturally took away much of their commercial importance. England was no longer on the fringe of the known world, but she became the centre—with America in the west and China in the east as the two possible extremities. The importance of oceanic states now increased as they were better equipped to exploit the newly discovered territories and trade routes.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REFORMATION

Wolsey and Henry VIII. On the death of Henry VII in 1509 his son Henry VIII became King of England. He was a young man of eighteen and was more bent on pleasure than business. Fortunately for him he found a very competent minister to carry on his royal work. This was Wolsey the last cardinal-statesman of England and almost the last churchman to hold high office. Born of humble parents in 1471, he was educated at Oxford where he distinguished himself as a scholar. Soon after he became a priest. His abilities attracted notice and Henry VII gave him a position at his Court. Henry VIII put him on the road to success and made him bishop in 1513. Next year he became the Archbishop of York. In 1515 he was made the Lord Chancellor and thus was entrusted with the duties of the Chief Minister. The Pope now created him a Cardinal and in 1519 he became Pope's representative at the Court of the English King.

Wolsey loved display. He built a palace for himself at Hampton Court where he lived in more than royal state. While Henry spent his time in sport Wolsey devoted himself to the business of the government. His love of display, his sharp temper, his autocratic nature gained him many enemies, but strong in the king's trust in him he carried on the work of the government unmindful of all the barbed shafts that were directed towards him.

Like Pitt and George III in a later age, the minister and the king agreed in their views. Wolsey made it his business to strengthen the position of the king and to get most of the government done through the Great Council now filled mostly by the new peers and some commoners. Henry continued the practice of the latter half of his father's reign not to call Parliament if he could avoid it. Only once was Parliament called in 1523 during fifteen years of Wolsey's Chancellorship. This Parliament showed independence of spirit and Wolsey never repeated the experiment. In domestic matters Wolsey saw that the church needed a number of reforms and tried to do whatever he could to stem the existing evils. He lacked, however, the reformer's zeal. He was however a champion of the Renaissance in England and founded the Christ Church College at Oxford.

England and Europe. It was in the sphere of foreign affairs that Wolsey made his mark. Henry VII had made England occupy a respectable position in the Councils of Europe, Wolsey tried to improve upon that by making her the arbiter. The jealousies of the continental monarchs gave Wolsey his chance. Ferdinand of Spain and Louis XII of France had their own quarrel, Henry joined Ferdinand against France and tried to achieve the glory which Henry V had won on the French battle-fields. The English won a victory or two, the most remarkable being the success in Flodden Field in 1513 in which James IV of Scotland died when he had invaded England in order to help the French. Wolsey succeeded in bringing England, France and Spain together in 1518 and made peace with France by which England restored Tournai on the promise of receiving 600,000 crowns as compensation. Next year

when Emperor Maximilian died, Charles who had succeeded Ferdinand in Spain in 1516 and Francis I of France both were candidates for the vacant Imperial throne. The Electoral College chose Charles. Both the candidates sought the friendship of England. Henry VIII and Francis met in 1520 on the Field of Cloth of Gold at Guisnes near Calais. But Francis failed to secure English help through the efforts of Charles who succeeded in gaining English support on account of his relations with Queen Catharine. In 1521, England became a Spanish ally, but the French expedition was highly disappointing. Wolsey had, for personal reasons, thrown the English influence on the wrong side. Charles V was already becoming too strong for his neighbours. Francis was defeated at Pavia in 1525 and taken prisoner and in 1527 Charles captured Rome. Wolsey played a losing game this time and his failure was sure to cost him dear. In 1527 Henry joined Francis against Charles but this could not save the French king. In 1529, the Emperor and the French king made peace by the Treaty of Cambrai and the failure of English policy was now patent to all.

Wolsey had followed a risky policy. His earlier success led him to put too high a value on England's position as the arbiter of Europe. His shifting alliances could only have been justified by their success. But in his vain struggle to put the English power now on this side, now on that of the scale, he failed to make her the deciding factor in European politics.

The Reformation. While Wolsey's policy on the continent was having its destined effect, Europe was being shaken to its very foundation by a movement in the church which later on came to be called the Reformation.

The Roman Catholic Church was at this time in a discreditable condition. The Popes had for a long time been the willing or the unwilling tools of the different powers. The outburst of national feeling in Europe about this time was cutting at the root of the Papal claim to supremacy in matters of church organization. Morally high lives of the clergy might have kept the people contented with the church, but when the church was tried and found wanting people began to lose their respect for it. The enforced celibacy of the clergy, the wealth of the great monasteries, their luxurious living, their intrigues and some times immoral lives brought disgrace upon the church. The churchmen served the state as great ministers and as such were accustomed to the ways of their lay contemporaries. In the matter of religious practices there was a great deterioration. Confession of one's sins followed by repentance and penance had been held to absolve one from their evil effects. But in the hands of the needy churchmen, confessional became an institution for the collection of money, absolution became a marketable commodity. When the Popes began to grant absolution for sins yet to be committed—that was what the indulgences really meant—and began to extort high prices thereof, the church could degrade itself no lower. The working of miracles on the tombs of the saints had almost become a profession. The judicial and legal privillges of the church were also becoming burdensome. Sanctuary and benefits of clergy held good in cases of even the worst crimes. These things might have gone on unquestioned for some time had it not been for the spirit of inquiry now set in motion in Europe.

Martin Luther. The challenge to accepted authority

came from Germany. There the sale of indulgences roused the wrath of Martin Luther, himself a clergyman. In 1517 he protested against this vicious system. The controversy that followed led him to examine the doctrine of the church in all its bearings. He denied the claim of the Popes to settle the beliefs of Christians, put the private judgment of every Christian in a position of superiority and declared that everyone was free to read his Bible and form his own beliefs. He further denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. He was excommunicated in 1520 and with this movement for liberty of conscience started the Reformation.

As it developed, the Reformation became a comprehensive movement. It implied the denial of Pope's authority as the spiritual head of Christendom. The Protestant churches became national, every country with its own church organisation. The Bible now came into its own, it took the place which the Pope had occupied as the interpreter of faith. In many states it meant also a change in the organization of the church. The system of church government through archbishops and bishops broke down in some of the continental states and more democratic ways of governing the church were adopted. Finally, the Reformation meant a change in the beliefs of the people as well. Transsubstantiation was denied. The indulgences and with them the whole system of confessional disappeared. Image-worship and with it the worship of relics, tombs and saints were abolished. This made worship in the churches much simpler.

Reformation in England. In England the ideals of the Reformation had been gradually penetrating since its birth in Germany. But England had its own share of

the reforming zeal. Wycliffe had in the fourteenth century denied Papal authority and translated the Bible in English. The Oxford Reformers in Henry VII's reign and also later on were busy examining the church institutions and suggested the need of certain urgent reforms. The problem of the monasteries had atracted the attention of Wolsey and he had tried to reform them by abolishing the smaller ones. But Henry was a zealous son of the church. He wrote a tract defending the Pope in his controversey with Luther and had earned thereby the proud title of the Defender of the Faith. But then occurred an event which undermined the Papal authority in England. The king went over to the side of the reformers challenging Pope's claim to control the church all over the world, it was not possible to withstand the reforming zeal of the times and to keep England within Roman Catholicism even when Henry desired it.

The Divorce Question. The occasion for this breach with Rome was provided by the Divorce question. Henry had married his elder brother's widow—a thing unlawful in itself. But the Pope had allowed the marriage to take place using his right to allow transgression of law in certain cases. But all the male issues of the union had died, and the only surviving child was a daughter, Mary. Henry wanted a son to succeed him, he was not sure if a girl would be allowed to fill the English throne after him and even if she was, it might mean that her marriage would make England a part of some other state. He wanted an heir and this was possible if his marriage with Catharine were dissolved and he was allowed to marry afresh.

To this desire to have an heir was now added his wish to marry Anne Boleyn, a young vivacious lady at court.

Henry asked the Pope to allow him to marry another lady on the ground that his marriage with Catharine was not lawful. The Pope might have ordinarily obliged him. But the matter became rather serious when Charles VII entered Rome and the Pope became almost a prisoner in his hands. Charles was Catharine's nephew and the Pope could not afford to displease him by declaring Catharine's marriage illegal. He however set up a tribunal to decide the case. Wolsey was one of the two members composing it. He did his best, but the Pope could not and would not grant Henry's request. The trial dragged on for some time, but soon Henry was denied even this satisfaction. The Pope now completely under Charles called the case to Rome which practically meant its dismissal.

But Henry was bent upon getting the marriage declared illegal and the failure of Wolsey to oblige him in this respect involved his fall as also that of the Roman Catholic Church in England. Henry turned against Wolsey, deprived him of his offices in the Government and when he was living in retirement at York called him to London to answer certain charges of treason against him. Wolsey died on his way to London in 1530.

Wolsey's Downfall. Wolsey was the last of the great churchmen to serve the state and his life well illustrates the difficulties of serving two masters, God and Mammon. Wolsey's fall was an indirect proof of the strength of the new monarchy though he had partly to thank himself for his end.

Even now the king did not despair of the divorce. He tried various orthodox and unorthodox ways of obtaining it. He put pressure upon the celergymen, he put pressure

upon the Pope. But it was not till 1533 that he got a Convocation of the English church to declare his earlier marriage with Catharine illegal. Thereafter he married Anne Boleyn.

Meanwhile much had been done to open the floodgates of the Reformation in England. It would be wrong to suppose that the divorce question alone caused such a momentous change in the faiths of the people. England was like many other countries ready for the change. The abuses from which the church was suffering elsewhere were also in existence here. Besides, the national feeling in England was stronger. Wycliffe had already protested against many of these evils. The long series of acts forbidding civil appeals to Rome indicated the spirit of the people.. The inspection of monasteries under Wolsey had revealed the existence of many cases of gross immorality, and a general slackness in the discharge of duty. Further the wealth of the church in England, which possessed one-fourth of all the land in the country had from time to time excited anti-clerical feeling. The nobles hoped to share in the rich spoils of the church, and the masses would have liked to escape from the burden of taxes if clerical wealth were laid under contribution. The emphasis on the study of the Bible made man question some of the teachings of the church.

When such was the case the divorce question came to add to the complications. It was an accident, but not so the Reformation. As explained above, but for the divorce question, the monarchy in England might have supported Catholic claims. But it is unbelievable that but for this England would have been saved from the reforming wave which was sweeping over the continent of Europe. The

divorce question put the direction of the Reformation into the hands of the king and Parliament rather than into the hands of reformers as was the case elsewhere. Naturally the English Reformation represents a compromise.

The Reformation generally implied three great changes in the church: It meant separation from Rome and setting up of a national church and it involved changes in the system of the church government, finally it changed the beliefs of the people. In England the separation was effected by Henry VIII who however remained protesting all his life that he was a devoted Catholic. His daughter Mary tried to switch back England to pre-Reformation days and make it once again the part of the Roman Catholic Church. But her work was soon undone by Elizabeth. The only change that came about in the organization of the church in England was the dissolution of the monasteries and the disappearance of the Abbotts and friars from the House of Lords. This was effected by Henry VIII. Even Mary found it difficult to make her nobles disgorge the church property that they had taken possession of under her father. In the matter of teachings of the church, Henry VIII died a Roman Catholic. Under Edward VI, changes in the beliefs were introduced through the use of the First and the Second Book of Common Prayer. Forty-two articles defining the Protestant faith were also issued. Mary attempted to undo it all by forbidding the use of the Prayer Book and repealing the articles. But Elizabeth finally settled the question by the introduction of the Prayer Book and the definition of the Protestant faith in thirty-nine Articles.

As finally settled under Elizabeth the Church of England became a compromise between the old Roman Catholicism and the new Protestantism and it has continued to this day as

such. Under Cromwell an attempt was made to go further in the Protestant direction but the attempt failed as did that of James II in the reverse process to make England Roman Catholic. The religious settlement was sealed by the Glorious Revolution when the succession to the English throne was secured only to members of the Church of England.

The Reformation Parliament. But to go back to Henry's difficulties, he summoned a Parliament in 1529 in order to strengthen his hands against the Pope. Parliament adopted the king's views that reforms of certain proved abuses in the Church should be undertaken. Henry then advanced cautiously. In 1531, the clergymen recognized him, under threat of being prosecuted for sending appeals to Rome, as the Supreme Head of the Church in England. This was followed by the king's assertion of full control over the clergy. In 1532, a law was passed prohibiting Convocation from passing any law witnout the king's permission. The payment of the annuities to the Pope was stopped. Henry suspended the law for a short time in order to secure from the Pope the appointment of Cranmer as the Archbishop of Canterbury. This done, appeals to Rome were abolished in 1533, the king's marriage with Catharine was annulled and his marriage with Anne Boleyn celebrated. In 1534 all payments to Rome were finally stopped. The election of bishops and archbishops was placed under the control of the king who was to order their election by English churchmen. Convocation of clergymen could meet only with the king's consent and the Act of Supremacy passed in 1534 finally made the king supreme head of the church.

That the great mass of the people supported Henry

is undeniable, but when it was demanded that all old servants, civil and clerical, should acknowledge Henry as the supreme head, trouble was bound to rise. Henry's Chancellor Sir Thomas More was executed in 1535 as also Bishop Fisher for refusing to acknowledge the king as the head of the church. Henry had thus made up his mind to bring the church under his control.

Dissolution of the Monasteries. The bishops and clergymen under Cranmer were pliant enough, but in the monasteries feelings in favour of the Pope were very strong. Henry now appointed Thomas Cromwell, one of his own officials, as his deputy in religious matters and Cromwell decided to deal strongly with the monasteries. Attacks on the monastic wealth had been common enough in England already. Many evils had also crept into them. They were once places of refuge to the religiously inclined persons to spend their days in retirement. They had in the past and some of them were still great centres of learning, where schools for neighbouring children were kept and books and manuscripts preserved and written. They also provided homes for the weary travellers, medical aid for the sick, and relief for the poor. But they had almost outlived their usefulness. The printing press, schools and inns took over some of their functions. The old piety and learning were disappearing. The simplicity and austerity of life had long been, in many cases, a thing of the past. They formed now the centres of resistance to Henry's claim to be the supreme head. Cromwell ordered an inspection and when its report depicting the monasteries in a lurid light was published Parliament ordered the dissolution of the smaller monasteries in 1536. The larger monasteries followed suit

between 1539 and 1540 though not without an armed protest under the leadership of a young lawyer named Roberts. As the people of Yorkshire rose in rebellion and resolved to march to London on the Pilgrimage of Grace to beseech the King to dismiss his evil counsellors it was easily put down and the king established a special section of his Privy Council to deal with the Norther countries, which came to be known as Council of the North.

The monastic wealth that was now available had to be distributed. The property of more than a thousand monasteries fell into the king's hands making him the richest king. He kept some of their lands in his own hands and some were sold to his supporters with a view to ensure their opposition to the Pope. Six new bishoprics were created· out of the revenues of the monasteries and some money was spent in establishing a few schools. Some of the disbanded monks and nuns were also given petty pensions.

The dissolution of the monasteries produced far reaching effects. The power of the Pope received a rude blow from which it could not recover even when Roman Catholic Mary was on the throne. Those of the king's supporters who had received a share of the monastic spoils refused to part with their property and prevented the restoration of the monasteries. The greatest stronghold of the Papal power was in this way destroyed. But in the process the poor suffered and with them the cultivators. The only effective arrangement for the relief of the distressed and the poor had now disappeared and the sturdy beggars became a problem for Tudor statesmanship. Many monks had been good landlords, whereas the new landlords mostly businessmen, wanted to get as much as they could from

their lands. The disappearance of the Abbots from the House of Lords decreased the clerical influence in the affairs of the state.

The Church in England. Henry was still a Catholic though no longer Roman Catholic. In 1536 Ten Articles were issued defining the English Faith and keeping it Catholic. In 1539 Six Articles were issued again emphasizing the Catholic nature of the English church. The only Protestant gain was the issue of Cranmer's translation of the Bible in English in 1538 and its use in the churches. Further advance in the same direction was made by allowing church services to be held in English in 1545. The use of Bible acted as a great disturber of opinion. People were no longer content with taking their religious opinion from the priests. For Henry the issue of the Six Articles was the highest excercise of his power as the supreme head of the church. He had with the help of his Parliament defined the Faith of Englishmen.

When Henry VIII died in 1545 the position in England was rather curious. The Roman Catholics suffered because they denied king's supremacy and were treated as traitors; the Protestants suffered because they did not accept the king's interpretation of an Englishman's faith, and were declared heretics. But Henry had accomplished a great deal. English Church was no longer under the Pope, it was now governed by the King and Parliament. The use of the English Bible was common despite Henry's attempt to change people's views on religious matters and prepare the way for a change in faith in the Protestant direction.

Edward VI. Henry was succeeded by his only son

Edward VI in 1547. He was a minor and the Duke of Somerset was appointed Protector. Somerset was a Protestant. He carried the work of the Reformation further in various ways. The breach with Rome was complete under Edward VI, changes in English beliefs were introduced. Two books of Common Prayers were issued, the first in 1549 and the revised one in 1552. These alone could be used in the churches on all occasions. By omitting prayers for the Pope, by refusing to pray to the saints, by declining to call for the intervention of Mary, the Book of Common Prayer recorded a Protestant victory. Not content witht his Forty-Two Articles were issued superseding Henry's definition of faith. These defined the English faith in the Protestant sense. A crusade against idol worship and images was also undertaken and many acts of vandalism were committed in the churches, where tne glass paintings and images of the past were all destroyed. Further, priests were allowed to marry and this rational policy won the sympathy of the priests for the reform. England definitely declared herself Protestant by inviting Protestant preachers from abroad to preach in England. The plundering of the churches which accompanied the destruction of images therein caused serious opposition and there were many risings especially in Devonshire. In the struggle that followed several thousands perished. The struggle was bitter especially because of the discontent of the poor on account of the agricultural troubles of the reign. There was a change of ministers without any appreciable change in religious policy. Under Edward Protestantism had been forced upon the people too fast. The great mass of people had to accept it suddenly and this led to some

open opposition. But when an attempt was made to deprive Mary, Henry's eldest daughter through Catharine and the legitimate successor to Edward VI of her right, they would have none of it. In 1553 Edward VI, though still a minor was persuaded to leave the throne after his death away from Mary and to appoint a cousin Lady Jane Grey as his successor. The plot miscarried. When Edward died Mary was able to push aside Lady Jane Grey quietly.

Marian Set-Back. Mary tried to make England once again a faithful daughter of the Church. Her position was rather difficult. To accept the system introduced by Edward meant creating a crop of troubles for her. Her very title to the throne would be endangered thereby. Henry VIII's settlement was humiliating enough for her. If she had any claim to the throne—and Henry in his will had given her second place after his son—divorce of her mother Catharine was illegal. If so, the whole Reformation settlement was open to doubt. She felt a slur implied on herself in the separation from Rome. She was thus driven by her own sense of self-protection to go back on the Reformation settlement.

She started with undoing the Protestant work of Edward VI. This was easy enough. Parliament supported her in her first efforts to go back to the system of Henry VIII. Thus all signs of England being a Protestant nation were removed one after another—the Book of Common Prayer, English church service, Forty two articles all disappeared. But when she tried to make England a part of the Roman Catholic Europe, she was faced with greater difficulty. At last a bargain was struck. She was to allow the monastic property to remain in possession of the present holders

Parliament in turn consented to repeal the Act of Supremacy making England a part of the Roman Catholic Church once again. A Papal legate was appointed in England. Mary now decided to enforce Roman Catholicism by persecutions and in four years between 1555 and 1558 three hundred persons were burnt to death for their faith. These included four bishops and Cranmer the Archbishop. This persecution had the opposite effect. The calmness with which most of these men met their fate proved the sincerity of their faith. People became disgusted with the system that sent such great and good men to death for their opinions. Unlike Henry VIII, Mary could not put forward even a political reason for these cruelties. She only shared the common belief of those days that burning of heretics was a praiseworthy act.

Elizabeth's Church Settlement. In 1558 Mary died and her death brought another daughter of Henry to the throne. This was Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn. Her title to the throne depended upon the denial of Papal authority. Henry's marriage with her mother was valid only if Catharine's marriage was invalid. This the Pope had never recognised since Cranmer had married Anne Boleyn and Henry in defiance of the Pope. Thus her career was bound with the Reformation—at least with that part of it which had ousted the Pope from England. She could not therefore tolerate Mary's persecution of the Protestants even if she wanted to do so. Her first Parliament therefore passed the Act of Supremacy declaring her the Chief Governor of the Church on earth and denying all powers that the Pope had been allowed to assume under Mary. Elizabeth however required only her servants in Church as well as in the State to take the oath of supremacy. If they

failed to do so, they were simply to lose their office. This was followed by the the Act of Uniformity which made the use of the Book of Common Prayer compulsory in all the churches. Reading of the English Bible was encouraged and so was the use of English in parts of the church service. Elizabeth however expected outward conformity to the religion she had established. She did not care to inquire into the opinions they held, but compelled all Englishmen to attend church on pain of paying a fine. Her Prayer Book was a compromise. It contained nothing offensive to either the Catholics or the Protestants. This was steering a middle course and seemed to be a success till in 1570 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth and ordered her deposition. The Queen retorted by passing an Act in 1571 by which it became high treason to call her an infidel. This produced a conflict in the minds of pious English Catholics. If they accepted the Pope's guidance they could not remain loyal to the Queen, if they acted according to the law of the land, they had to deny Papal authority and to pay a fine for staying away from the Church. The attempt was now made by Roman Catholic missions to convert England to their views. Their efforts involved deposing Elizabeth and these were treasonable. Elizabeth increased the fines for absence from the Church in 1581 and in 1585 the Roman Catholic foreign missions were asked to leave England within forty days. Many of them had been engaged in the frequent plots for deposing Elizabeth but such action was more political than religious. The would leave her alone, as she had no quarrel with them. They defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 finally saved the English settlement of the Church. The queen had however defined the faith of Englishmen in the Thirty-nine Articles in 1563.

The Church of England. Thus the Reformation in England was at last complete. The English Church was no longer a part of the Roman Catholic Church, the Pope had no authority in England. The Church was now a department of the State, governed as much by the monarch and Parliament as any other department of administration. The faith of this Church of England was Protestant in most things. Moreover use of the Bible in English, the English Book of Common Prayers, the English service at the Church all these were definitely anti-Catholic and inclined men's minds even towards a larger change than what was officially tolerated. The Government of the Church through Convocation and the bishops remained. The king took the place of the Pope now. The way in which services in the Church were conducted did remind people of Roman Catholic ceremonies and the queen always preferred the elaborate ritual of the Catholic Church.

But the best of it was that the queen did not seek to change the opinions of her subjects. She asked them to attend service in Church on Sundays and even this they could avoid by paying a fine. Where she persecuted, it was when her own rule over England was threatened or when the independence of England was in danger.

Of course this could not satisfy the extreme reformer. They objected to the government of the Church through bishops, they disliked the ritual of the Church which still smacked of Roman Catholicism. They became the Puritans to form the backbone of resistance to the Stuarts in the seventeenth century. Across the border in Scotland the Reformation had been mainly led by zealous reformers who disliking the English compromise had set up Presbyterianism—

Protestantism differing a little from the English type except in its rejection of the government through the bishops. There the lay members of the Church were left to organise themselves as best they thought fit through their presbyteries, *i.e.*, assemblies

CHAPTER XVIII

EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

Incorporation of Wales in England. The Tudors were not wholly busy in the settlement of religious questions. There were many other problems that claimed their attention. One of their most important achievements was the making of Wales an integral part of England. Under Henry VII, Owen Glendower had become a great source of trouble His alliance with the Percies had provided him an accession of strength. Henry VII however was able to deal effectively with these disturbances. Henry VIII very wisely decided to settle the question of Wales once for all. In 1536 an Act of Union was passed by which Wales was finally united with England. It was divided into five shires and allowed to send twenty-five members to Parliament. This ensured better government and a settled administration.

Ireland under the Tudors. The subjugation of Ireland took a longer time and it proved to be a tougher task. The English kings had been Lords of Ireland since the days of Henry II. This did not mean much. English authority was confined to a strip of coastal zone in the east, known as the English Pale. Here the Lord Deputy ruled with the help of a Parliament established about 1300 A. D. The rest of the country was under tribal chiefs, Irish or English and cared very little for English authority. The Irish support to Simnel Warbeck made

Henry VII send Poynings as Lord Deputy in 1494. He passed what came to be called later on the Poynings' Acts which made the Irish Pale definitely subordinate to English king and laid down that Irish Parliament could meet only with the consent of the king and discuss and enact only such measures as the English Privy Council might have already approved of. Further all English laws passed till then were made applicable to Ireland. Poynings returned in 1496 and Henry left the government of Ireland in the hands of Garret, Earl of Kildare, the strongest Anglo-Irish chief of the time. 'All Ireland cannot rule the Earl', Henry was told. 'No', retorted the king 'then in good faith shall the Earl rule all Ireland?'

The Kildares ruled Ireland till the beginning of the Reformation quarrel. In 1534 however the Earl rebelled but the rebellion was soon crushed. Henry VIII used this opportunity to convert Ireland into an English dependency. The quarrels of the local chiefs gave him the chance to interveue. By 1541 almost all the chiefs had accepted him as their overlord and given up their claims as independent princes. Henry now became King of Ireland. Unfortunately he made no attempt to win over the Irish people to his side; though he was now king of Ireland, the Irish people did not acquire thereby equal rights with the English settlers.

The Reformation added to the troubles in Ireland. Under Edward VI, the religious service was changed in Ireland as well as in England. Nothing was done however to convert Ireland to the Protestant faith and the result was that 'Catholics in Ireland began to be anti-English.' But it was Mary, who started the practice of 'English plantation' in Ireland—confiscation of tribal territory on a large scale followed by the process of coloniza-

tion by Englishmen. Under Elizabeth the religious settlement added fuel to the fire. The trouble started with a tribal civil war between two Irish clans in 1559, which was later transformed into a crusade against the English Government. By 1567 this was at last suppressed. But the English attempted to force Protestantism on Ireland, which policy was not only resented but resisted. Jesuits from Rome and Catholic priests from Spain came to Ireland to preach their religion and incidently to preach rebellion. By 1585 however the second Irish attempt against England was suppressed and in its wake came the confiscation of the property of the 'rebel' chiefs. This again was 'planted' by English colonists and the native Irish were dispossessed on a large scale. Further acts of injustice followed and led to another Irish rising in 1598. Elizabeth sent large English forces under Earl of Essex to suppress it. Essex however failed in his attempt and it was not before 1603 that the trouble in Ireland was thoroughly crushed.

The final result of this long series of risings, confiscations, and oppressions was that English power was established all over Ireland. The local chiefs were reduced to the position of ordinary barons. Their local armies were disbanded, and their courts abolished. Ireland received peace. But the sense of English injustice remained. The Roman Catholic churches had been given over to the Protestant clergymen, the land had been parcelled out among English adventurers, and the arrangement for Irish education was entrusted to the Protestant Church. Little wonder that the Irish felt greatly aggrieved and swelled the ranks of enemies of England on the continent. The Irish problem became a great danger to the Government.

The Tudors and Scotland. The marriage of Henry VII's daughter Margaret with James IV of Scotland in 1503, was intended to create happier relations between the two countries. But in 1513 James IV invaded England in order to create diversion in favour of the French whom the English were pressing hard at that time. At the Battle of Flooden Field James was defeated and killed. His son was a minor and so his mother acted as his regent. The two countries remained friendly for some time, but when her son James grew up he married a French queen and thus renewed the old Franco-Scottish alliance. In 1542 James invaded England but was defeated at Solway Moss. He died soon after in December, 1542. Henry now tried to bring the Scottish trouble to an end by proposing that his son Edward should be betrothed to Mary, the infant Queen of Scots. This proposal however fell through. English invasions of Scotland forced the Scots to send Queen Mary to France in 1547.

Reformation in Scotland. Meanwhile the wave of Reformation had reached Scotland. Here the reformers, led by John Knox, tried to convert the people of Scotland to the new faith. The Church in Scotland was even less worthy of respect than in England and Knox's slashing satires produced a new spirit. The Church and the Crown were opposed to the advance of the reforming views, but religious zeal prospered on opposition. The French domination of Scotland awakened nationalist feelings. Since Mary Stuart was in France, Scotland was being governed by her French mother Mary and Scotch garrisons were filled with French soldiers. The Protestants who hated the French as the upholder of the Catholic religion

now became the most zealous nationalists desiring to turn the French out. In 1557 Protestantism spread among the nobles to such an extent, that they banded themselves into a 'Congregation of the Lords' pledged to the Protestant faith. In 1559 a civil war followed between these Lords of the Congregation and the Scotch government under French protection. It was now that Elizabeth played a decisive part. She sent an English fleet and an English army to help the Lords of the Congregation. Thus strengthened the Scottish Lords compelled the French garrisons in Scotland to withdraw in 1660.

Mary, Queen of Scots. This however proved to be a lull before the storm. Mary Stuart who had been living in France since 1547 and had ruled there as French queen for sometime was now a widow. She decided to come over to Scotland and rule the country. But the Scottish throne was not a bed of roses. Knox was busy organising the Presbyterian Church in Scotland with a General Assembly for the whole country and assemblies of laymen in every parish. The Lords of the Congregation remained united as a useful instrument in the hands of Knox. Mary however gambled away her opportunities. In a land torn by religious and tribal strife, she might have made the monarchy strong at the cost of the nobles. But she married Darnley in 1565. The marriage was not a success. Darnley murdered her Italian favourite in 1566. He himself paid the extreme penalty in 1567. Bothwell, another Scotch noble, was suspected of the foul murder. He was tried and acquitted. But Mary was indiscreet enough to marry Bothwell. This raised a storm against her. It began to be openly said that she had got Darnley murdered in order to marry Bothwell. The Lords of the Congregation now

rose into revolt, defeated and captured her in 1567. She was deposed and imprisoned and her son James who was barely three years of age became king.

But Mary was very resourceful. She escaped from her prison in 1568. She was not however successful in her efforts to rally a strong party round her and was again defeated. Rather rashly she decided to cross over to England. Elizabeth looked upon her with suspicion.

If Elizabeth was an illegitimate daughter—as many Roman Catholics tried to prove—Mary had the best claim to the throne. She had for a time styled herself the Queen of England, Scotland and France. The Roman Catholics on the other hand had hoped much from her and she had been openly contesting Elizabeth's claim to the English throne. She now put herself into her rival's hands and asked for a safe conduct to France. Elizabeth was in a fix. She could not send her back to Scotland probably to death and certainly to life-long imprisonment. It was too much to expect that she would allow her to cross over to France and join her enemies who were never slack in their attempts against Elizabeth. But to keep her in England was not considered safe. It meant too great a strain upon the loyalty of her Roman Catholic subjects who would thus have an object to revolt. As usual Elizabeth temporised. She promised to allow Mary to go to France if the charges brought against her by the Scottish Government for her complicity in Darnley's murder failed. In 1569 a Commission of inquiry met to consider the question. The famous Casket Letters were now produced proving Mary's guilt. But the question of their genuineness or otherwise as also the question of Mary's guilt divided the partisans and has divided historians ever since.

The Commission failed to reach a definite conclusion. But Elizabeth had now been provided with an excuse for detaining Mary.

Mary Stuart in England. For twenty long years Mary was Elizabeth's prisoner. During this period frequent attempts were made on her behalf by assassins and traitors. In 1569 Duke of Norfolk proposed to marry her but he was arrested and accused of treason and thrown into the Tower. This was followed by the capture of Durham by the Earls of Northumberland and Westromeland but they were soon suppressed and paid with their lives for their rashness. In 1572, a Spanish invasion of England was threatened with the object of bringing about the deposition of Elizabeth and placing Mary on the throne. The clue of a widespread conspiracy was discovered. A Florentine banker named Ridolfi was the chief organiser, and Mary and Duke of Norfolk were involved in it. When the guilt of Norfolk was proved he was executed in 1572. In 1583 another plot for assassinating the queen was discovered, and its ring-leader Francis Throck-morton was executed and his associate the Spanish Ambassador was ordered to leave the country. An association was formed with a view to protect the queen. The Jesuit priests were also implicated in this foul attempt to solve the religious question by the sword. The Babington plot in 1586 at last broke the camel's back. This again was an attempt at murdering the queen. Happily it was discovered through an English spy and the revelations that followed suggested that Mary also had some knowledge of this plot to further her claims and had even sanctioned it. Elizabeth could no longer stand between Mary and her own infuriated subjects. Year after year they had been petitioning her to

execute her. Mary's death could no longer endanger the position of Elizabeth. The Roman Catholics on the continent were divided on the question of the next claimant to the English throne, her son James V was supposed to be unmindful of her fate. Mary was tried, declared guilty and executed soon after.

Mary Stuart's is a tragic figure in history. Queen of Scotland from her cradle, she was an exile till she was eighteen. Queen of France by marriage, she enjoyed that dignity for little more than a year. Sending her to France for safe custody, her subjects had changed their religion in her absence and when she returned they could ill understand her. Queen of Scotland for about eight years, her subjects suspected her of the foulest crime a woman could commit. Rival of Elizabeth for many years, she was condemned to end her days as her prisoner. Next in kin to Elizabeth in her claim to the English throne, she excited hopes in many Catholic breasts and was hated for being the centre of revolts with which she personally had nothing to do except that her mere existence urged people on. Elizabeth and Mary stand out in fearful contrast as the favoured of the gods. But Mary's death, if it secured Elizabeth on the throne by condemning her enemies to come into the open, was as much a prelude to the execution of her grandson Charles I. The monarchy had been delivered a blow under which it soon staggered and fell, though it was only for a short time. Her death however brought England and Scotland together as her son became Elizabeth's heir. It also put an end to English plots to unseat Elizabeth. Legal or illegal, expedient or otherwise, justified by the royal code of the time or not the deed was done.

For the rest of her reign, Scotland remained friendly with the queen, its king her acknowledged successor.

CHAPTER XIX

ENGLAND AND EUROPE

England and Europe. The Normans had connected England with Europe but their way of doing so made England almost a Norman Province. Edward III claimed to be the King of France as much as of England and for a time occupied a very high place among the monarchs of Europe. Henry V outdid him, but the French soon recovered their freedom during the reign of his son Henry VI. The Wars of the Roses kept England busy in her domestic problems and she ceased to count for much in Europe. Henry VII as we have seen, restored England to a respectable place in the Council of Europe, Wolsey and Henry VIII tried to surpass him in their attempt to make England the arbiter of Europe. England was invited to maintain the balance of Europe in the struggle between Spain and France but she lost the game. The fall of Wolsey and Henry's preoccupation in the religious questions produced a lull.

Rivalry of France and Spain. But Henry's breach with Rome and his manner of accomplishing it deeply wounded Charles, Catharine's nephew. In 1534 an alliance between Francis of France and Charles was formed on behalf of the Pope and Roman Catholicism. Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's successor in Henry's council sought out a German alliance, and with this end in view married Henry to Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves. But

Francis and Charles again fell out, Henry did not like his new queen and therefore beheaded Cromwell on a charge of treason and divorced Anne.

Henry and Charles were soon reconciled when Henry consented to recognise Charles' cousin, Catharine's daughter, Princess Mary, as his successor. Charles wanted English help against Francis, Henry needed Imperial help in counteracting French assistance to the Scots and in preventing the threatened union of France and Scotland by the marriage of Mary Stuart of Scotland to Prince Philip of France. A costly war followed, the Emperor made peace with France in 1543; England accepted the French terms in 1546 and kept Boulogne for eight years as it had been captured during the war. But this was a barren victory.

Edward VI. Henry VIII died in 1547 and as his son and successor Edward VI was a minor, a protectorate under Duke of Somerset was set up. In spite of the treaty of 1546 and the murder of Cardinal Beton in Scotland, the worst enemy of England and Reformation there, Somerset failed to prevent a close alliance between France and Scotland. In 1547 Mary Stuart was sent to France in order to save her from falling into English hands. This renewed the war with France. Unfortunately for England, Somerset could not get the Emperor to join England in this war against Henry II of France. When Duke of Northumberland succeeded him as the Chief Minister he made peace with France by surrendering Boulogne for a cash payment. This involved the French ascendancy in Scotland.

Mary Tudor. When Mary Tudor ascended the throne in 1553, a new direction was given to the Tudor

Foreign policy. Religious policy and personal taste led her to a marriage with Philip, Prince of Spain. The marriage proposal was so unpopular that it led to a rebellion in 1554 when Sir Thomas Wyatt attacked London. It was easily put down and this emboldened the queen. The marriage took place soon after. This tied England to the chariot wheels of Spain as far as her foreign policy was concerned. The marriage did not prove very happy, Philip disliked Mary and soon left for Spain. But he was determined to get the diplomatic benefit out of this match. A war between Spain and France broke out in 1557. Philip was now the King of Spain, and he dragged England into the war. Then followed the loss of Calais in 1558 after a century and a half of British occupation. Mary took it to heart and so did the English people who were all the more enraged at this practical result of the unpopular Spanish marriage. Soon after Mary died in 1558 with Calais engraved on her heart as she had declared when she lost it.

Elizabeth and Catholic Europe. While Elizabeth was occupying the throne of England, Europe was being torn into pieces by religious differences. The Reformation had made religion a great force and had indirectly provoked religious wars. The Protestant settlement that Elizabeth promoted in England created difficulties of its own for her. Her right to the English throne was disputed by Roman Catholics who put forward the claims of Mary Stuart to the throne. She had to play a very risky game all through her life and had a difficult task in extricating herself from the machination of her rivals.

Apart from a number of plots and intrigues that

were usually favoured, when not promoted, by her Catholic enemies, the interest of her foreign policy centred round the maritime activities of her daring subjects, as well as in her relations with the Roman Catholic powers who tried to put down Protestantism in Europe. This brought her in contact with two great powers, France and Spain, themselves jealous of each other. Her weapons in dealing with them were curious. She kept peace as long as she could. But this she achieved by dangling the prospect of her marrying now Philip of Spain, now a French prince, though all along she had no intention of marrying any of them. When Spain was busy plotting against her, she gained time by ignoring Spanish intrigue in England but at the same time encouraged Dutch resistance to Spain, favoured the dare-devil activities of her 'sea-dogs' who acknowledged no law but their own. When her cup was full, she did not seek war, she drove Spain into attacking her.

Her foreign policy can be divided into three periods. When she ascended the throne, she stood in need of European recognition. The rivalry of Philip of Spain and Henry of France gave her the cue, she played one against the other. She fed Philip on the hopes of her considering his proposal of marriage. Later on she led France to hope that she would marry a French Prince sooner or later. She knew that she was a big matrimonial prize and accordingly put a high value on herself. France could afford to be hostile to her only so long as there was some chance of her rendering help to the Catholic cause in Scotland and that in England. But the captivity of Mary, Queen of Scots in England since 1568 put an end to all French hopes of using

her as a catspaw in the English quarrel and thenceforward England and France remained in friendly alliance against Spain.

Meanwhile Elizabeth took advantage of the religious strife in France, helped the Protestants there, who surrendered Havre to her in 1562 but it was lost in 1563. The friendly relations after 1568 were interrupted, but for once when the French Catholics murdered the Protestants in France on St. Bartholomew Day in 1572. But Elizabeth continued her matrimonial intrigues and kept France quiet for the rest of her reign.

Elizabeth and Spain. It was Spain that proved the greatest enemy of England. Philip of Spain at first demanded Elizabeth's hand in marriage. This she refused because she had no wish to subordinate England to Spain. Philip could not go to war against her as her defeat or destruction would have meant the succession of Mary involving an Anglo-French alliance. But Elizabeth herself was not anxious for war as she knew that the delay would mean an increase in her strength whereas it might involve a decrease in the Spanish power. Both, however carried on the feud privately—Spain encouraged plots against Elizabeth's life, the queen retorted by allowing her enterprising sailors to attack the Spanish monopoly on the seas and in Spanish America as also by giving help to the Dutch who had turned Protestant and were at this time fighting for their independence from the Spanish yoke. In 1570 the Pope deposed Elizabeth and as the greatest Catholic power, Spain was prepared to execute this commission. When Mary Stuart was at last executed, Philip claimed the English throne and posed as her avenger. England at this time seemed to

be the chief Protestant power in Europe whereas Spain was the champion of Roman Catholicism in the continent. The Spanish agents in England were always deceiving themselves and their master into the belief that English Catholics were only waiting for a sign to rise against the queen. Thus in 1587 Philip at last decided to come to the open and challenge England.

The Spanish Armada. The struggle seemed to be rather unequal. Spain was the strongest power in Europe. At that time she had a strong and powerful army with years of victorious traditions behind it. Her navy was unequalled and since her union with Portugal she had been the mistress of the seas. The wealth of the South American mines made her the richest nation in Europe. She was fired by religious enthusiasm and wanted very much to shame the heretic queen. What more was required to compel victory? It was decided to equip a fleet of ships, sail through the English Channel to Holland, there put the Spanish army under Alva on board, then sail back to the English coast, land an army in England and march victorious on London.

But Elizabeth had been building up elements of strength that, though untried so far, were to provide tough material for the Spaniard. To begin with, the queen wanted it to be a naval fight—rather the first naval fight. Her enterprizing sailors had become the pioneer master-mariners and sea-fighters of the world. While Spain was content to fight in the classical fashion, row a ship or board it, the English sea captains, Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh, had turned their ships into floating castles, and mounted on them heavy guns able to fire on moving ships. They had developed a much greater speed

in their ships. Further the queen's religious settlement had its effect. Now that Mary Stuart was dead, the English Catholics could afford to be patriotic enough to forget their quarrels with the queen and flock to her standard in repelling the foreign invaders. The news of the Spanish preparation for an invasion of England united England as never before.

The Armada started in an inauspicious time. While the fleet was being collected at Cadiz and preparations for the invasion were being made, Drake decided to demonstrate the strength of the new race of English sailors. He sailed boldly forth, reached Cadiz, burnt the ships that had been collected there and after thus singeing the King of Spain's beard he came home safe. This delayed the invasion for a year. But the next year the Spanish preparations were complete and the Armada at last sailed forth to bring the English queen to her senses.

It was a formidable host that sailed forth. A fleet of 130 ships with 16,000 soldiers on board left for the English Channel. The Spanish ships were merely instruments for carrying the soldiers from one place to another. They were not warships in any sense of the term. The English ships had been built for naval fights on principles not yet understood by the Spaniard. The Spanish ships were heavy and could not be easily reversed whereas on the English ships the control of direction had been perfected. The English ships carried guns mounted to fire at the enemy ships and the soldiers, whereas the Spanish guns were more ornamental than useful. The English could fire thrice as rapidly as the Spaniard. The Spanish ships were in the hands of leaders who despised seamen, whereas the English sea

captains were commanding the ships as well as the mariners. The Spanish admiral, Duke of Medina Sidonia, was a nobleman, a devout Catholic, but that ended the list of his qualifications for the great task entrusted to him.

On July 12th the Spanish Armada left for the English Channel. The English fleet was waiting for them at Plymouth. On July 21st the two fleets met for the first time. A short engagement followed in which the Spaniard had the foretaste of what was in store for him. A running fight was kept up as the Spanish fleet moved up the Channel and drifted on towards Calais on the opposite course with a view to effect a junction with Parma's forces in Dunkirk. In order to prevent this, the English sent eight fireships sailing towards the Spanish Armada. The Spaniards were compelled to come to the open and there on July 29, the first decisive naval battle was fought off Gravelines. They suffered heavily and the wind drove them into the North Sea. They were compelled to seek safety in flight, round the coast of Scotland, back by the Irish Coast. When the fleet reached Spain, half the ships had been lost.

The English victory was decisive. Spain, the mightiest power in Europe till then, had been humbled. England had become the mistress of the seas. Spain was now put on the defensive and the Protestant struggle in Holland could now continue with better chances of success. No more could the Roman Catholics of the continent hold a continuous threat over the head of Protestant England. Elizabethan settlement of the English religion was now safe. Not only that, Protestants on the continent also could now heave a sigh of relief; the Spanish victory would have meant a success for the Counter-Reformation and

adversely affected them. The queen's great experiment had at last proved a success.

Last Years of Elizabeth. The back of Spanish opposition to England was now broken. Elizabeth had completed the work which the first Tudor King had begun and made England the most powerful nation in Europe. The Anglo-Spanish rivalry however continued. Drake attacked Lisbon in 1589 but failed to take it due to the lack of support from his Portuguese allies. In 1591 Sir Richard Granville immortalized himself by fighting against a Spanish fleet of 53 ships singlehanded on his ship the *Revenge.* He lost his life but would not run away even against heavy odds. In 1596 Cadiz was captured and sacked. The second Armada that Philip sent against England that year failed because of foul weather at sea. The war continued but when Philip died in 1598 he was a disappointed but not a disillusioned monarch. But the traditional Spanish policy was kept up by his successor and peace with Spain had not been made when the queen died in 1603.

Elizabeth secured for England the foremost place among the European nations. When she ascended the throne England was threatened on all sides. France was hostile, Scotland was far from friendly, Philip of Spain was prepared to befriend the queen only if she married him. But by 1603, her wise religious settlement, the daring of her venturesome soldiers, the patriotism with which she inspired Englishmen even when they suffered at her hands, had combined to raise England to a position she had never occupied before.

CHAPTER XX

TUDOR ENGLAND

The Tudor System of Government. The Tudors ruled over England for more than a century. Henry VII succeeded to the throne at a time when the country was wearied by the factious fights of the nobles. Peace was the one thing the people desired. The nobles had been weakened by a decrease in their number through death or attainder, their influence had still further decreased on account of constant confiscations of their estates during the Wars of the Roses, their prestige had suffered as a result of their lawlessness, and their status in society was threatened by the rise of the middle classes and the official nobles. Only twenty-nine lay peers, and forty-nine spiritual peers were summoned to Henry VII's first Parliament. They ceased to dominate English Government. The number of spiritual peers was reduced by about twenty-eight when the dissolution of monasteries started. The Commons were not yet in a position to be able to influence the Government in England to any large extent. The Tudor Government had been described by some as despotic. No doubt the Tudor sovereigns enjoyed powers much beyond the reach of their successors. In 1495 Parliament acknowledged the king's right to arbitrary taxation in the shape of benevolences. In 1504 Henry VII was allowed to repeal Acts of Attainder by his own authority when Parliament was not in session. Henry VIII was allowed to settle succession to

the English throne by will. In 1529 his proclamations were given the force of law, though the Act was repealed in 1547. In 1534 Henry VIII was allowed to repeal or revive all the Acts regarding customs duties passed since 1529. But it must be remembered that the Tudor kings never claimed to exercise any wide powers by their own prerogative. The powers they exercised were conferred on them by Parliament and theoretically therefore their government was Parliamentary rather than despotic. Constitutionally the Tudors increased the authority of the king in Parliament. Even when this is admitted, it is said that the Tudor Parliaments were subservient and did whatever the monarchs asked them to do. Here again certain obvious facts are lost sight of.

Subservient Parliaments could only have been obtained by interference in the elections by bribery and corruption, intimidation of members or by creating new boroughs sure to send subservient rspresentatives. There seems to be little direct interference in the elections so far as the contemporary records can help us. Of direct bribery of members there is little trace of it in Tudor times, though the dissolution of monasteries and the sale of their property must have provided means for rewarding supporters of the Government.

The proceedings of the House were so little interfered with by the Government, that the clergymen prayed that like freedom might be granted to them as well in the meetings of their Convocation. The numbers of members no doubt increased from 292 at the accession of Henry VII to 458 at the time of Elizabeth's death. This increase can be partly accounted for by the inclusion of Wales and Cornwall in Parliamentry representation and partly by the right

extended to new boroughs to send representatives. Again contemporary records fail to prove that the right to send members was granted to English cities by the Tudor monarchs of their own accord. The usual custom was for the towns to apply for a charter for the right and the duty of attending Parliament was at that time felt so very irksome that rarely a town would have asked for this privilege light-heartedly or a been drawn into assuming this burden by royal will alone.

The Tudors did not try to obtain subservient Parliaments any more than their immediate predecessors or their Stuart successors. That their Parliament agreed with them and trusted them implies mutual understanding rather than any subservience. All through the Tudor age, Parliament never allowed the monarchs to dictate to them in matters where they differed from the crown. The nation was really sick of the lawless days and in the new king they only discovered their Messiah. The Tudor monarchs on the other hand always took care to understand their people and humoured them wherever possible. They tried their best to anticipate the desires of their subjects and often took the role of demagogues rather than despots.

The Tudor period has many parliamentary gains to boast of. If the Lords lost in importance, the House of Commons came to its own for the first time in history. Its sessions now came to be held in the Parliament buildings, since 1547 it has begun to keep its journal, its Speaker demanded liberty of speech for its members and their privileged freedom from arrest. Parliament remained in existence for several years, as the members gained in experience their strength increased. Even the members of

the Privy Council now sought election, sat in the House of Commons and explained their policy there.

Parliament on the whole increased its strength. Religion now came under control, the enacting clause of the Acts was now changed to make it clear that the laws were not made by the king alone, but by King in Parliament. Parliament asserted its voice in such intimate matters as Elizabeth's marriage, it was a victory when it compelled the queen not to grant monopolies detrimental to the interests of the country. Henry VII!, used Parliament as his safes tweapon when he intended defeating the Pope and accustomed people to Parliamentry rule. Elizabeth used it as her shield during the years of conspiracies, intrigues, and threats from Rome and Spain. The people thus got accustomed to be ruled by Parliament and this proved a stumbling block in the way of the Stuarts.

The Tudor monarchs however relied upon a small Privy Council of their officials as the centre of their Government activities. It was this Council—in itself an offshoot of the Great Council of the Norman times—that met in a sub-committee as a Court of Star Chamber, decided similar questions about Wales and the Northern counties in the Council of Wales and the Council of North and performed such other functions as were entrusted to it by the king.

The Council acted through Justices of Peace appointed from among the local gentry by the king. Their functions were many and multifarious. They had inherited many of the functions of the old earls and sheriffs and many new activities had been thrust on their shoulders. They acted as the local chiefs of police preserving law and order. They were responsible for the relief of the poor under the poor

laws when they were made. They regulated prices and wages and carried out the trade regulations of the country. The government of the towns was carried on, under royal charters, by municipal corporations which had become close bodies now.

Economic Organization. The Tudor period saw not only religious changes and constitutional development but underwent great economic changes as well. Agriculture still remained the staple industry of the country. Prosperous yeomen farmers created traditions of independence of spirit which became so useful in the following century. The enclosing of land was on the increase, arable land was enclosed for pasture, common land was turned, sometimes converted into arable land and enclosed by the landlords. Both these changes added to the distress of the poor. The first increased unemployment, the second destroyed some of the amenities of their life. Steps were often taken to prevent this as in 1534, or peasants at times took the law into their own hands as in Ket's rebellion in 1549. But the movement continued without much opposition. The dissolution of the monasteries increased the difficulty. The state had to step in to provide relief to the poor so far provided by the monasteries in many cases. A series of poor laws was passed beginning with the Act of 1536 and ending with the Poor Law Act of 1601. Vagrancy was punished, poor law rates were raised from the landlords in order to provide relief to the poor. Every parish was expected to look after its own poor. Workhouses were provided where the poor could be housed and boarded. The able-bodied vagrants had to work whereas children without support were to be sent as apprentices to learn some trade.

English trade entered upon a new phase. The English merchants who had, by the end of the fifteenth century, taken foreign trade of the country into their own hands utilized their opportunities well and greatly contributed towards commercial prosperity. The Privy Council tried to encourage and regulate trade and munufactures through the Justices of Peace. The Royal Exchange was founded in 1566 and greatly helped trade and industry. The rebellion in the Netherlands against Roman Catholic Spain brought a stream of Flemish refugees to England from 1566 onwards and these refugees greatly increased the quality of the English cloth.

The Tudors had to face the problem of Industrial reorganization. The medieval guilds were fast decaying and the control of the industries passed into royal hands. The Statute of Apprentices of 1563 codified the existing practice in different trades and tried to confine manufacturing activities to the corporate towns. No one could set up as a fully qualified artisan unless he was twenty-four and had served at least seven years of apprenticeship. It was a sort of caste system which attempted to confine persons born in a trade or industry to the same for ever. The Justices of Peace were given the right to enforce these regulations as also to fix the wages. Under Elizabeth Burleigh, her great minister, introduced the system that came to be known as mercantilism. It aimed at developing the resources of the country mainly by shipping, sufficient population and a well filled treasury. Ship-building and fishing were encouraged in various ways. Imports were to be discouraged. Elizabeth expelled the Hansa merchants from England in 1597 thus bringing to an end the last vestige of English dependence on foreigners in foreign trade. This work was

now to be carried on by the English. The Turkey Company, the Muscovy Company, the East India Company and the Barbary Company took up the task of capturing new foreign markets with varying success. Many new industries grew up, which reduced English dependence on freigners for necessaries. Gunpowder, brass works, potteries, lace making, common salt, alum, glass, and finer woollen cloths were now successfu'ly introduced in the country. By the end of Elizabeth's reign England had thus gained immensely. She had ceased to be wholly agricultural, many new industries had been introduced, machinery for dealing with the new industrial organization had been set up and foreign trade increased.

Maritime Activities. But it was the maritime activities of the Tudors that makes the period so important in the economic development of the country. Henry VII began this good work by allowing Cabot, an Italian to go voyaging to the west and discover the American mainland. Henry VIII built up an English navy consisting of warships built for warlike purposes. He established the Trinity House to supervise the technical side of seafaring. He encouraged the acquisition of better merchant ships by English merchants. The result of this patronage of maritime activities was the emergence of a group of English adventurers who appeared in the Channel and tried to drive away the Spaniard from there by their piratical activities. But it was really under Elizabeth that the English spirit of adventure had full play. Now that England had renounced the authority of the Pope, the monopoly of Spain and Portugal in the west and the east could well be challenged. The first attempts however were made with a view to discover an "alternative

route to India. Willoughby and Chancellor tried to discover a North-Eastern route to India and reached the White Sea in the attempt. India was still a far-off cry, but Chancellor travelled all over Russia and was at last able to found the Russia Company that undertook the monopoly of trade with Russia. This was followed by attacks on the Spanish monopoly in the African coast and in Spanish America. In the sixties Hawkins established the slave trade in African negroes, carried them off to Spanish South America and there sold them to the Spanish settlers there who were eager enough to buy from the English as there was no other source of slave supply. His last voyage in 1562 was disastrous and he suffered heavily. Hawkins established the reputation of the English as great adventurers and demonstrated that they did not care a fig for the Spanish monopoly of their own colonial trade. Hawkin's voyage was followed by a series of attempts to discover another passage to India. Frobisher made three unsuccesssful attempts in 1576 and the subsequent years to discover a passage to India from the North West. Meanwhile Francis Drake who began life as a Channel private had learnt his trade from Hawkins whom he accompanied in his last voyage. He improved upon Hawkins' methods. Where the older seaman was content to break the Spanish monopoly by supplying the South American colonists with Negro slaves which the Spaniards would not supply them, Drake frankly adopted piracy on the high seas against the Spaniards as his weapon wherewith to beat them. He made three voyages to the West Indies in 1570, 1571, 1572. His last voyage would have brought him the treasures of a sacked Spanish town when he received a wound which incapacitated him. He returned to the attack late in 1572 and this time was able

to deliver his first successful blow on the Spanish Empire beyond the seas. Almost every year he chose some vulnerable point in Spanish America and succeeded in demostrating the weakness of the Spanish claim to hold her American empire. Not content with sacking the towns, he attacked the treasure-laden Spanish ships and succeeded in making away with the booty. It was not war but piracy. In 1577 he left on his famous voyage round the world. Not that he started with this idea, but by this time he had been able to arouse the interest of the queen in the venture and Elizabeth is said to have been responsiole for a part of the capital which sent Drake with his five ships afloat. He started with the intention of sailing into the Pacific by rounding the South American coast. In this he was successful though of five only one ship survived the stormy voyage. He sailed north sped by the lure that a Spanish treasure ship was ahead with the wealth of the Peruvian mines. When Drake overtook the Spanish ship, the Spaniards were surprised but could not offer any successfu resistance. Such a rich booty should have satisfied Drake but he was afraid of being tracked by the Spanish fleet if he returned home by the same route. He decided thereupon to sail north. From the coast of modern California of which he took possession in the name of the queen, he sailed west into the Pacific, passed through the Indian Archipelago, sailed down to the Cape of Good Hope and reached England in 1581. This was the second voyage round the world and when Drake reached Deptford, the queen knighted him on board his own ship. The Spanish Government demanded his surrender as a pirate, but Elizabeth successfully evaded the demand. In 1585 the queen took him in her service and fitted out a fleet for his use.

He justified queens' trust in him by burning and plundering more Spanish towns. When the Spanish Armada was being fitted out against England, Elizabeth ordered him to attack Spanish territory. The order was countermanded. but Drake who knew the queen, had sailed before the countermanding order could reach him. He reached Cadiz and destroyed the Spanish fleet that had collected there, thus singeing the King of Spain's beard. When the Armada appeared, he was a vice-admiral and defeated the Spanish fleet off Gravelines and pursued it to the north. In 1589 he inflicted a good deal of damage on Spanish ships and burnt and plundered some Spanish towns. In 1595 he went to West Indies with Hawkins but failed to effect anything. He died on the sea in 1596.

Hawkins and Drake were not the only sea-dogs the Elizabethan period bred. His companions on the voyage who braved the dangers of the unknown and the still greater dangers of the Spanish Government and the inquisition bred a race of sailors who won for England supremacy over the seas. England entered on her career as a sea-power—thanks to these venturesome Englishmen.

Spanish supremacy on the seas was destroyed, but not the Spanish colonies. That was a difficult job and it was thought better to establish English colonies elsewhere. Sir Walter Raleigh tried to establish an English colony on the east coast of North America in 1585 and 1587 and named it Virginia. The attempt however did not succeed. Sir Humphry Gilberts' attempt to colonise Newfoundland fared no better. The trouble was that colonizing these virgin lands was a very difficult task and the clearing and settling of land depended on uninterrupted food supplies from England. This was not possible at the time, nor was it

possible to ward off Indian attacks. It was in the Stuart period that some progress was made.

English Literature. In literature the Tudor age saw England at a height hardly ever surpassed. Marlowe, Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare have left behind them a heritage of which any nation may well be proud. Shakespeare's play have become a part of the world's cultural heritage. This literary outpouring was possible because of the effect of the Renaissance in England now reaching its culmination. Bacon's Essays and Historical treatises set up a new standard in prose writing. Raleigh, Holinshed, and Hakluyt administered to the Tudor craving for adventure and national glorification.

When in 1603 the great queen lay dying she had achieved a good deal and laid the foundation of many more movements. The religious questions had been satisfactorily settled, the supremacy on the seas snatched from the hands of the Spaniards, English foreign trade was now carried mostly by Englishmen and many new industries helped to revolutionize England. England occupied a place among the nations of Europe second to none—thanks to the queen who though vain and vacillating in many things knew how to bring the ship of state safely home.

PART II

CHAPTER XXI

THE STUARTS IN ENGLAND

Main features of the Stuart Period.—When the death of Elizabeth called James VI of Scotland to the English throne, an era of constitutional conflict opened in the history of England. Tudors were no despots, they were popular dictators in an age which needed strong rulers most of all. Yet the very success of Tudor dictatorship helped to create forces that contributed towards bringing this chapter to a close. England in 1603 differed very much from England in 1487 when Henry VII had ascended the throne. She was no longer driven apart by conflicting baronial ambitions, the religious upheaval had mostly subsided, and the danger of foreign invasion had been adequately met and averted. But more than that the Tudor age had witnessed a great social revolution; feudal barons had given place to official barons, the wealth of the monasteries had enriched the new rich, increase in English trade and industry had created a strong middle class. Still more important was the Tudor method of government. They extended Parliament's sphere of work, increased the importance of the House of Commons, and admitted it to a larger share in the government of the country. But Elizabeth could still hold it in check because she understood the temper of

her people. Partly for her sex and partly for her achievements, the Commons and the Lords were prepared to stand by her. The Tudors had however led their subjects and not driven them. They shared with the Englishmen of the day many of their prejudices and some of their failings and were thus restrained in their dealings with them.

The accession of James, however, changed all that. He was a Scot, bred in an age of conflict which had embittered his life. He had been living in Scotland since his birth and brought to England Scotch traditions of government which were at variance with the English practice. The Tudors had themselves built up the constitution and could be expected to understand its subtleties. James I, a foreigner, was called upon to interpret it when it was admittedly in a formative state. The doubt about his title to rule in England after the death of Elizabeth made him at first cling to the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Adopted in self-defence, it became an apology for absolutism in his case. He did not invent the theory; scholar as he was, he only borrowed it from mediæval writers. But its effect on the direction of English affairs was disastrous. If the king was responsible to God alone for his actions, he became irresponsible and absolute. Where Elizabeth and Henry would have argued with and cajoled their Parliaments, he upbraided and lectured to them for meddling in the mysteries of kingship. His adoption of the Divine Right of Kings had its reaction in the slow formulation of the theory of parliamentary supremacy.

James and his Stuart successors had another difficulty to contend with. The rich treasures of Spanish

America led to the depreciation of silver, things became dearer, and royal expenses rose higher. Add to this the royal extravagance of James I and you have the arena set for a struggle between King and Parliament. Tudors had lived on their customary incomes: rent from crown lands, feudal dues, and the usual export and import duties had been sufficient for their expenses. James I and some of his successors had to call Parliament frequently in order to enable it to make additional grants. This naturally gave rise to quarrels and became a fruitful source of irritation.

The constitutional problem of the seventeenth century mainly centred round location of sovereignty. In every state there must be an authority whose word is law in the last instance. At present Parliament is the sovereign power in Great Britain, its orders, *i. e.*, Acts are binding on and enforceable in the law courts. In the seventeenth century this was not so certain. Parliament had been acquiring powers since its formation. Under the feudal system English kings had been bound to the subordinate nobility by feudal custom. The Magna Carta in recording this fact wove it into the English constitution. When the three estates of feudal times got converted into Parliament, it acquired in an indefinite way the right to say in matters of administration. From humble beginings parliamentary powers went on increasing as the occasion arose. But the English have a way of avoiding generalization until they are compelled to formulate a principle. The Stuart kings raised fundamental issues by their tactlessness. The question of sovereignty or the supreme power in the state was thus raised and once raised the whole of the seventeentn century

was occupied in seeking an answer thereto. In the end Parliament was victorious. But the position was not so clear in the beginning. The English kings and especially the Tudors had exercised large powers. As long as they did not excite the protests of their Parliaments and subjects, no questions were asked. But when such powers were felt unjust, people began to look about for reasons to oppose them. Thus were the fundamentals of the constitution questioned. But the English are a conservative people. When the struggle between the king and Parliament began both asserted that they were fighting for what was already the custom if not the law of the land. In this appeal to the past Parliament rather than the king was often wrong. The Stuart kings insisted on maintaining intact, and sometimes extending beyond their original applications, the powers that the English kings had exercised so far. This would have stopped the growth and development of the constitution. Parliament here applied the corrective. Often wrong in its appeal to the past, it was right in so far as the implication of the past was concerned. 'What Parliament was really doing was to apply in new ways, to new details, in further extension the fundamental principles which the past had established.'

The struggle was rendered still more difficult by the religious question. The quarrel between the king and Parliament might have been composed at any stage of the struggle but for the religious differences. A good deal of bitterness felt towards James I was due to his religious leanings. Charles I may have been spared the civil war but for the Laudean attempt to impose episcopacy on Scotland. He lost his head for, among

other things, his failure to decide the religious question with the victorious Parliament and army. Charles II and James II likewise suffered to a large extent in the same cause. The glorious revolution of 1688 was glorious and bloodless mainly because the English were all of one opinion that they would not have their king tamper with their religion.

Religious Policy.—While James was on his way from Edinburgh to London in 1603, some Puritan clergymen presented a petition to him demanding some concessions in church ceremonials and a stricter church discipline. This Millenary Petition—alleged to have been presented by one thousand clergymen, though actually signed by about eight hundred—was followed by the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, to which only four Puritan clergymen were invited to meet the king and members of the established church. Elizabeth's religious settlement had defined the faith of the English church in Thirty-Nine Articles and imposed an outward uniformity of religion. The religious feelings of the English people had travelled towards Puritanism to a larger extent though they did not share the Puritan dislike of church government by bishops. These Puritan leanings demanded certain modifications in church ceremonial. At the Hampton Court Conference the Puritans would have been content if James had allowed them to remain within the church with permission to modify church ceremonials according to their beliefs. But Calvinist though James was in his religious beliefs he refused to grant them the necessary concessions. Though they had no intention of urging the abolition of espiscopacy he told them roundly that he believed church government by bishops was

linked up with the government of the state by kings. 'No bishop, no king,' summed up his argument in the conference. Not content with this refusal alone, he declared that he would either make them follow the rules of the established church strictly or turn them out of England.

Thus the Hampton Court Conference proved abortive. James lost a valuable opportunity of enlisting the sympathies of the Puritans in his behalf by granting them necessary concessions. His archbishops insisted on their clergymen conforming to the practices of the established church in their ceremonial and as a result more than three hundred Puritan clergy were harried out of the church. More zealous among the Puritan laity found life intolerable in England where they had little chance of following their religious beliefs. Some of them left for Holland in 1606 and then returning to England, they left for North America in 1620 in the *Mayflower*. These Pilgrim Fathers founded the colony of Plymouth in North America which later on became Massachusetts. But those who remained in England were by the king's policy rendered hostile to him. This hostility was to embitter his relations with his Parliaments. But one good came out of this Conference. An English translation of the Bible was ordered to be made. This was published as the authorized version of the Bible and remained to influence life and letters in England and to a less extent in Scotland as well.

If the Puritans were disappointed in their hopes in the Presbyterian James, the Roman Catholics in England had still less to hope for from this son of Mary, Queen of Scots. He promised them toleration nevertheless.

The laws for fining absentees from church services were relaxed. There was an increase in the number of such absentees. This alarmed both the people as well as the Government. Parliament insisted on the laws against Roman Catholics being enforced. The Roman Catholics in their turn resented this breach of the royal word. Their dissatisfaction expressed itself in the Gunpowder Plot. Robert Catesby, a landed gentleman, persuaded certain other Roman Catholics, including Guy Fawkes, to startle the whole of England and Europe by blowing up Houses of Parliament. By the indiscretion of one of the conspirators who warned a relative of his, the plot was discovered, Guy Fawkes was arrested beside barrels of powder in the cellars of the House. This led to a strong anti-Catholic feeling in the country and all hopes of toleration for the Roman Catholics were dashed to pieces.

But towards the end of his reign James' matrimonial projects again revived Catholic hopes. He wanted to marry his son Charles to a daughter of the king of Spain. She was Roman Catholic and her father naturally demanded that she be allowed freedom for religious worship. This was reasonable and might have been tolerated. But when it was demanded that this marriage be accompanied by general toleration for Roman Catholics, the English resented the marriage proposal. Parliament opposed it, and James promised Parliament vigorous enforcement of the penal laws in 1624, but though he was prepared to grant widest possible toleration to Roman Catholics Charles in his incognito visit to Madrid discovered that Spanish demands were interminable. Thus the project fell through

and the Roman Catholics were as far as ever from getting toleration.

Colonial Development.—The reign is remarkable for the beginning of colonial development. But unfortunately James I had no hand therein. He shamefully neglected the Navy and without a navy, royal encouragement of colonial enterprise was impossible. But the impetus provided by Elizabeth and her daring seamen remained there and James' reign saw far-reaching extension of colonial activity.

The first place to be claimed was Barbados in the West Indies. James was proclaimed king of Barbados in 1605. In 1623 another island, St. Christopher was colonised, Barbados was really colonized in 1624. Meanwhile in 1606 a charter to colonize Virginia was granted. Jamestown was consequently founded in 1607. The colonists had to encounter great difficulties here, but the resourcefulness and the spirit of adventure of one of the colonists, Captain John Smith saved the little settlement. In 1608 he was made Governor of South Virginia where he remained till 1609. The efforts of Sir Thomas Dale (1611 to 1616) finally put the colony on a firm footing. By 1612 these settlers had become strong enough to colonize the island of Bermudas. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers mentioned above had come and founded Plymouth,

Meanwhile in 1618 a Company was formed to trade with West Africa. It occupied the Gold Coast and Gambia and built forts there.

But probably the most far-reaching event of the period was the permission obtained from Emperor Jahangir of India for establishing an English factory at Surat in 1616. Surat became the basis of trade operations between England and

India. But the East India Company did not confine its activities to India alone. Eastern trade at the time was coveted mainly for the trade with Spice Islands in the East Indies. The English tried to share in the profits of the trade in spices with the Dutch and the Portuguese. But the Dutch soon found English presence in the Spice Islands inconvenient. As the English would not take the hint and James was too weak and too pacific to enter there effectively, they tried force in order to put an end to English activities here. Several English traders were at first arrested in Amboyna in 1623 on a charge of conspiracy to seize the fort. They were finally executed on the strength of confessions procured by torturing them. This put an effective end to English trade with the Spice Islands. This 'massacre of Amboyna' remained unavenged till Cromwell's time when the Dutch were compelled to grant compensation.

Thus James' reign saw the beginnings of English connection with India. Four colonies, Barbados, Virginia Bermudas and Plymouth had been founded in North America on the main land and in the West Indies. Fruitful beginning in trade and occupation of Africa had also been made. In the matter of colonial government representative assemblies had been established in Virginia and Plymouth with governors sent out from England.

It should be noted here that these colonial enterprises were mainly due to either a spirit of adventure or religious persecutions. England had no surplus population to render colonization a necessity.

James played a personal part in putting an end to the traditional hostility between England and Scotland. Now that he was king of both the countries, he tried his best to unite them and to remove such traces of hostility as he

could. Unfortunately, in this matter he was much in advance of his times. English Parliament would not accept his proposal. Still Scotchmen born after his accession to the throne were admitted as English citizens.

In Ireland his policy was less reasonable. Tyrone, the Irish leader, submitted in 1604. But this did not improve matters. In 1607 on a flimsy excuse, large areas in Ulster were confiscated and given to the English planters in the hope that this would make for peace and good government in Ireland.

Plantation of Ulster was successful from the English point of view and bequeathed to the later generations the vexed problem of Ulster.

James I and his Parliaments.—James I was king of Scotland before he became king of England. He had been familiar so far with the Scotch Parliament. This was a very tame body. But the English Parliament that James had to face now was something quite different. He called four Parliaments during his reign. The first sat from 1604 to 1611, the second was called in 1614 and dispersed without transacting any business, the third Parliament sat in 1621-1622, the fourth was necessitated by his need for money for war with Spain in 1624. He could never get on well with the two Houses which, unlike the Scotch Parliament, claimed independent powers. Parliament of the seventeenth century differed a great deal from Parliament of to-day.

Its main work was to grant the king any additional supplies that he might need for his extraordinary expenses. Of law making there was very little. Questions to the ministers, appropriation of supplies, motions for adjournment were unknown. Resolutions were moved very seldom.

Parliament was, however, very jealous of whatever power it had. James started by taking a superior tone towards his first Parliament.

Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's trusted adviser, was still in power and he kept the Parliament in humour, which had however raised many important questions. The House of Commons secured the right of settling election disputes, insisted on the penal laws against the Roman Catholics being enforced, it refused to countenance the king's proposals with regard to union of England and Scotland, it protested against the levying of import duties, it asserted its right to discuss such questions as it thought proper, it protested against king's proclamations creating new offences. In 1611 it was dissolved when the king discovered that he could not get the Parliament to agree to his demands for money.

James was a spendthrift and within three years he had to call another Parliament. He tried to secure a submissive House of Commons with the help of "undertakers" who undertook to influence the elections This leaked out and the House that met in 1614 was, if anything, more hostile to the king. It was dissolved two months later without achieving anything.

For seven years James ruled without a Parliament. Unlike the eleven years of Charles' personal rule, this period was not marred by any new financial burdens except that import and export duties continued to be collected as the king thought fit. But Parliament was rendered necessary by the king's foreign policy.

Thirty Years' War.—Germany was half Protestant, half Roman Catholic. The royal house of Bohemia came to an end for want of an heir and the Protestants of

Bohemia were startled when the Emperor of Germany appointed a Roman Catholic prince as their ruler. About this time there was a revival of hostility between the Catholics and Protestants in Germany. The Protestants of Bohemia rebelled against their ruler and offered the crown to James' Protestant son-in-law, Frederick who was the ruler of a petty principality in Germany. Thus began the Thirty Years' War. James wanted to help his son-in-law especially when he was expelled from his country. But James was a pacificist who believed in his power to straighten the complicated issues by his diplomacy. As we have already seen he was keen on his son, Charles marrying a Roman Catholic princess of Spain. He hoped to persuade the king of Spain to restore Frederick to his throne. But James had neglected the navy and it was well known in the continent that he would not fight. Naturally his well-meant efforts at restoring peace by sweet phrases came to nothing. Baffled in his diplomacy, he now wanted to resort to war.

The English people would have liked James interfere earlier in the continental quarrel on behalf of his son-in-law. But now that Parliament met and James demanded money for war on behalf of Frederick, the Commons were in no mood to be submissive. They resented king's matrimonal proposals and drew up a petition to the king giving their humble advice on matters of foreign policy. The king resented their interference in what he considered to be his peculiar field and asked them to desist from doing so. The Commons thereupon recorded their protestation insisting on their right to discuss whatever question they liked. They further declared that the 'liberties of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth right

of Englishmen.' In anger the king sent for their record of proceedings and tore out the page on which this protestation was recorded after the Parliament had been dissolved.

But before its dissolution the House had asserted its power in another sphere. It revived the ancient Parliamentary weapon of impeachment. This is an accusation by the House of Commons before the House of Lords of a great public servant. The Commons chose Bacon, the Lord Chief Justice, as the target of their attack. Bacon, a philosopher and a great writer, was in the unfortunate habit of receiving gifts from the litigants before their cases were finally disposed of. He declared that this did not influence his judgment, but the Commons would not accept that as an excuse. He was impeached, found guilty by the Lords and sentenced. This revival of an ancient practice asserted the Commons' right to supervise the administration of the country. Bacon of course was accused only of bribery, but Parliament later on used this weapon against king's ministers for obeying king's orders.

On the dissolution of the Parliament of 1626 the king went his own way. But the fates were not very kind to him. The projected marriage of his son Charles with a princess of Spain came to nothing and Charles and Buckingham returned empty-handed from Spain, deeply offended. When his fourth Parliament met, therefore, the king and Parliament were of one mind in wishing a war with Spain. The Thirty Years' War was still going on, the Catholic League was still getting the upperhand and the Commons were prepared to grant Charles generous supplies. But here again they adopted a novel method. In the bill granting the king money, clauses were inserted assuring that the money raised would be

used for the expenses of a war against Spain alone. They further passed an Act forbidding grant of monopolies to individuals in 1624 and impeached James' minister Earl of Middlesex on the charge of corruption. He was condemned by the Lords. Meanwhile the king had to change his foreign policy and sent an expedition to Germany in order to help his son-in-law. He tried to use his diplomacy for an alliance of Protestant powers of Europe but before it could be carried through James was dead.

Thus James' relations with his Parliaments were never happy. The questions that to led to a civil war in his son's reign had all been raised. The Commons had claimed powers independent of the king, whereas the king had asserted that all their privileges originated from him. The question of the exact definition of the financial powers had been raised when the Commons had declared impositions illegal without Parliamentary grant, whereas the king continued collecting them on his own authority. The king seemed to assert that the Commons could only discuss questions submitted to them, the Commons had joined issues with him and brought even foreign policy under their jurisdiction by claiming themselves entitled to discuss all questions concerning the welfare of the kingdom. The king had tried to stultify the legislative power of Parliament by changing the law by proclamations, which Parliament resented. It had declared individual monopolies illegal and brought forth the rusty weapon of impeachment for dealing with great servants of the crown.

But the quarrel was not confined to Parliament alone. Another body of king's own servants had opposed his designs and succeeded in one case at least. There were at this time two types of courts in England, the Common

Law Courts existing from of old, and Prerogative Courts mostly set up by the Tudors. The Common Law lawyers maintained that the king was subordinate to the Common Law whereas the prerogative lawyers upheld the king's majesty and were prepared to hold the king right in whatever he did. The most famous of the Common Law advocates was Coke who was king's Chief Justice for some time. It was his bold stand that had made the king give up the use of proclamations for changing the law of the land. But Coke asserted principles which were not always as acceptable to the king. The king, when a case was being tried, called the judges to him and asked them to stay the proceedings till they knew what he had to say to them. Coke alone declared that he would allow the proceedings to take their course. He resisted the king's attempt to get the opinion of the judges before a case had been started. For his independence, he was dismissed in 1616. This dismissal undermined the popular trust in the king's court besides declaring the existence of the quarrel between Common Law and royal prerogative.

James foreshadowed the troubles that overtook his successors. King's ministers were appointed usually by the king. But kings had generally taken care to appoint able men. James on the other hand revived the evil practice of appointing worthless persons to high offices simply if they caught his fancy. Robert Carr was his first favourite and had to leave England accused of murder. Buckingham followed him and became the evil star of his son as well. The rule of favourites was resented by the people because it was felt they were responsible for the breach between the king and his Parliaments.

But James had 'a genius for getting into difficulties,

though he was not without a certain shrewdness in stopping just short of a castastrophe. If he steered the ship straight for rocks, he left his son to wreck it.' He has been called 'the wisest fool in Christendom,' a title which he does not deserve. He was neither wise, nor a fool. Coming from what till then had been a foreign and usually a hostile country, to rule over Englishmen, he was not able to understand them or their ways. He was too much of a pedant however to be conscious of his ignorance and had the obsession of divine right of kings. It is here that we can discover the cause of his failure in the peculiar circumstances of his times. He had raised the wind but left it to his son to reap the whirlwind.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE KING *vs.* PARLIAMENT

James bequeathed to his son the hostility of the Puritan, the suspicion of the Common Lawyers, the Thirty Years' War and Buckingham. But when Charles came to the throne he was popular enough for he was determined to carry on war against Spain. His marriage with a French princess however complicated the English foreign policy. He would not enter into a definite alliance with France in his war against Spain, though he was prepared to help France in her own difficulties. Unfortunately these implied making war on the French Protestants and this was not popular in England. Charles could not thus please both France and his own Parliament. Instead of taking a course and sticking to it, Charles tried, under the influence of Buckingham, to save his face by steering a middle course which pleased neither. The English expeditions against France as well as against Spain were a failure and Charles had to leave Protestant Europe to take care of itself. As his Parliaments would not grant him the money he asked for, his intervention in foreign affairs was never effective and when in 1629 he dissolved his third Parliament and determined to rule without one, he had to withdraw himself from the quarrels of the Thirty Years' War which was reshaping the continent.

Charles and his Parliaments.—Charles had inherited his father's belief in the Divine Right of Kings. James,

bred up in adversity, knew where to stop and though he talked much about his powers seldom hesitated to make some sacrifice if necessary to save his position. Charles however was stubborn and wanted to clothe into practice what James had mostly advanced as a theory. The quarrel was started by his first Parliament. 'No supplies without redress of grievances' was becoming the slogan of the popular party in the House of Commons. In its anxiety to raise the question of imposition, his first Parliament granted him the right to collect import duties for a year only. It was an ordinary source of revenue, and it had been customary to make grants of this tonnage and poundage to the king for life. The king was vexed very much at what he considered to be an insult to his majesty. Not content with this, Parliament attacked new Catholic tendencies in the church, and criticized Buckingham and the kings' other ministers. Charles dissolved Parliament in anger.

But his foreign policy demanded money and he had soon to call another Parliament in 1626. This time again chances of quarrel between the king and his Parliament were plentiful. Charles estranged the Lords by imprisoning one member and declining to summon another. The Commons however struck boldly at what they believed to be the root of all evil and impeached Buckingham. Charles dissolved Parliament in anger in order to save his friend.

For two years Charles ruled without calling a Parliament. He used various ways for carrying on his government without Parliamentary grants. This created fresh causes of complaint. Forced loans were resisted but the Privy Council imprisoned those who ventured to do so. The judges

on appeal held in the Five Knights' case that the King had the right to do so. Had Charles been able to get sufficient money thereby and had his foreign policy been successful, all would have been well. But Buckingham's plan against France was as unsuccessful as against Spain. Charles had once again to turn to Parliament to solve his financial dffficulties.

The Petition of Right.—When his third Parliament met it was in an angry mood. Twenty-seven of its members had suffered imprisonment for refusal to pay forced loans. They at once raised the question about the liberty of subjects as well as non-Parliamentary grants. Commons and Lords joined together in presenting a Petition of Right which demanded the redress of specific grievances. It complained of illegal taxation, arbitrary imprisonment, billeting of soldiers on citizens, and punishment by martial law in times of peace. Like the Magna Carta it declared that the king had gone against the law of the land and required a promise from him that he would not do so in future. This was the first great victory of Parliament in the seventeenth century and it forshadowed the revolutionary settlement of 1689. It was not put in the form of an Act as Parliament contended—though wrongly—that these things were already the law of the land. Its effect was to curtail the King's power and to transfer it to Parliament.

But this did not end the quarrel between King and Parliament. The Commons began to denounce the levying of import duties without Parliamentary sanction and the king dismissed the House. When it re-assembled in 1629, it again raised the question. Meanwhile Buckingham had been murdered in August, 1628. The quarrel

between Parliament and Charles continued. The Commons felt consternational the spread of Catholic ceremonial in the church. Dismayed at the opposition king sent an order proroguing Parliament. But when the Speaker wanted to disperse the House, some members kept him forcibly in his chair, passed the resolutions against the spread of new practices in church as well as denouncing those as enemies of the country who paid taxes without Parliamentary grant and then was the Speaker allowed to dismiss the House. Thus appeal to violence had been begun. The King was not slow in following suit. Even before Parliament had been dissolved he ordered the arrest of several members of the House of Commons including Eliot who died in prison. The rest were not liberated till the meeting of Parliament eleven years later. Thus were the issues joined. Charles had had enough of Parliaments and he would now try to rule without any.

Eleven Years of Personal Rule.—For eleven years Charles did not call together a Parliament. There was nothing strange in that. Meetings of Parliament were not as frequent then as now. His father before him had not called a Parliament for seven years. If Charles could rule without calling a Parliament, his subjects had nothing to complain. The significance of these eleven years lies in the fact that Charles went on violating the law of the land and especially the Petition of Right. These were the years when the King was untrammelled by Parliamentary criticism and his arbitrary government during these years was the best argument that Parliament could put forward on behalf of the claim that they were advancing.

Parliament could be dispensed with, but money for carrying on the government had to be found. Parliament

had declared arbitrary taxation illegal, but the question of import duties had been left undecided. The King continued raising duties on imports. Besides, he used various other means for maintaining his Government. Several old laws were revived in order to raise money. People were fined for encroachments on forests as defined in the reign of Edward I. Landed proprietors were made to pay for becoming knights and if they did not do so they were fined in accordance with a law almost four hundred years old. London was fined heavily because the city had disobeyed certain proclamations of James I. But a more fruitful source of revenue lay in the prerogative Courts especially the court of the Star Chamber. Under the Tudors it had been a popular court and had proved very useful in keeping the unruly barons in check. Now however it was used to break down opposition to King's Government as also to extort money by fines. But these measures though irritating were not quite illegal. Charles had resort to other methods which clearly went against the law of the land. Monopolies were reintroduced. Forced loans and payments continued. The most famous of his exactions, the ship money, however originated in real necessity. In 1634 it was collected according to previous practice from the seaports for the naval defence of the country. In 1635 another levy was raised from all towns and countries. When a third demand for it followed in 1636, it ceased to be an occasional demand and became a regular tax. Henceforward it was levied every year and became a regular source of royal income. Charles used at least the major portion of the money thus raised for building and equipping ships which were to prove useful during the commonwealth. Financially the King had succeeded in carrying on his Government without Parliament.

But the levy of ship money was resisted. In 1635 on a reference to the judges it was held legal. In 1637 John Hampden levied to a contribution of 20 shillings refused to pay the amount as not authorised by Parliament. The case was brought before a full bench of twelve judges. By seven to five, the judges decided in King's favour. But the minority of five in Hampden's favour was significant. It showed how closely the King's action had escaped from being held illegal. The small majority took away the people's faith in the impartiality of judges. But much more disconcerting was the reasoning on which the levy was held legal. "They are void acts of Parliament to bind the King not to command the subject, their persons and goods, and I say their money too," said one judge. 'The King of mere right ought to have, and the people of mere duty are bound to yield unto the king, supply for the defence of the kingdom," said another. 'It is common and most true that the king is law,' he added. As a contemporary declared the judgment for the King made ship money all the more hateful and formidable. It contributed largely to a sense of uneasiness felt at the time. Of what use was Parliament if the King could tax his subjects to the tune of £ 200,000 a year.

Laud.—But a much more irritating line of policy was being followed in another sphere. Laud who had been appointed a Dean by James in 1615 and a Bishop in 1621 had become the spiritual adviser of Charles. Through various minor offices he rose to be the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 and guided the king's policy in his relations with the church. James I had rather been doubtful of the wisdom of giving Laud a high office in the church, as he was so zealous and restless. Just then the ceremonial

and doctrines of the church of England were being assailed from both sides by the extremists. The Puritans, wanted to so modify church doctrine and public worship as to bring it in conformity with the extreme Protestant beliefs. Anglo-Catholics on the other hand wanted to make church ceremonies more impressive so as to make men holier. The safety of James and Charles would have lain in steering the middle course and in conforming to the existing practices. Where James feared to tread Charles rushed in. James had been content to snub the Puritans, Charles following Laud actively espoused the cause of the Anglo-Catholics and thus aroused opposition among even the moderate churchmen.

It must be clearly understood that at that time the idea of toleration did not appeal to any section of churchmen. All of them were equally and sincerely convinced of the righteousness of their own faith and desired to make others conform to it. Naturally the faith that the king held had better chances of being forced upon others. Thus Laud tried to mould the church after his own ideals and in doing so roused a storm of protest that at last resulted in the Civil War. He tried to 'stop every hole through which Puritan feeling could find vent.' Using the court of High Commission and inquiring personally into the affairs of every parish, Laud was able to make his power felt all over England. He refused permission to publish Puritan books, and even prohibited the import of such literature from abroad. He discouraged preaching in church and forbade the employment of lecturers by towns and private chaplains by individuals. He enforced his own view of ceremonial on the church, and when deprived of the use of the church people fled to pray and preach in the open, they were set upon and punished. He revived

the Church courts and tried to enforce morality through them. He refused to allow the churches to be used for any but sacred purposes. Churchmen were promoted to high offices in state. All this roused popular feeling against him. What people found all the more difficult to understand was the fact that Roman Catholicism was being tolerated through the influence of the queen, whereas Puritanism was being crushed.

Emigration to America.—The most important manifestation of popular feelings against Laudean persecution appeared in the emigration of twenty thousand Englishmen to America. As the king's personal rule began in 1629, two thousand Puritans left England for the wilds of America in order to found a religious settlement in Massachussets. Slowly and steadily a stream of settlers poured in to flood the small settlement. In 1633 Connecticut was founded. In 1638 New Haven was colonized. Meanwhile in 1632 a Roman Catholic colony had been founded at Maryland where toleration rather than the rule of the saints flourished. Besides between 1628 and 1632 many small settlements were made in the islands of the West Indies. In India the same period saw the establishment of a factory at Madras and Calcutta.

Strafford.—Meanwhile another of king's servants was contributing his share to the sullen discontent of the time. Thomas Wentworth was first elected to Parliament in 1614. He became a popular leader in 1621 when he opposed James' claim to limit the rights of Parliament. In 1625 he was one of those commoners who were appointed sheriffs in order to make it impossible for them to sit in the House. In 1628 his bill provided the material from which the Petition of Right

was fashioned later on. However he favoured good government rather than popular government and entered the King's service to provide England with what he felt she needed. He became the President of the Council of the North in 1628 and entered the Privy Council the next year. In 1632 he went to Ireland where he had ample opportunities for displaying his talents. He tried to secure for that unhappy country ordered government such as she had not enjoyed so far. He encouraged trade and industry and raised a well ordered army. He frequently wrote to the King and guided him in state affairs. He believed in efficient government and hoped to establish it in England as he had done it in Ireland with the help of the army that he had created. His plantation of Connaught however enraged the Irish, whereas his overbearing manners created many enemies among the English settlers.

The Church of Scotland.—James had appointed bishops in Scotland. But they had been superimposed on the structure of the church there. Beliefs of the church were not tampered with nor was any attempt made to introduce the ceremonial of the Anglo-Catholics. Laud and Charles however were not content with the things as they were. An intensive campaign for converting Scotland to Episcopacy and Anglo-Catholicism was now started. The powers of the bishops were increased. A Court of High Commission was appointed to keep the church in check In 1638 clergymen were required to recognise the king as the supreme head of the church. But the last straw that broke the camel's back was the issue of a new Prayer Book to replace Knox's Prayer Book hitherto in use (1637). This attempt at

the conversion of the Scots wholesale by the order of the English king and his minister showed the foolishness as well as the ignorance of the English Government. The new Prayer Book roused such hostility that wherever it was read it produced only riot and anarchy. Unanimous opposition was organised all over Scotland. Attempts at conciliation seemed to be promising but the General Assembly that met at Glasgow in 1638 was in a defiant mood and when Charles ordered its dispersal, it refused to dissolve. It went back on the settlement of James and declared Presbyterianism as the religion of the country.

Bishop's War.—Now came the real test of Charles' statesmanship. His abso lute government had been sullenly tolerated so far. But the king had no standing army, nor had he any extensive system of paid officials. At the first challenge to his authority, the edifice that had taken eleven years to build crumbled into the dust. Under Leslie the Scots called together a large army consisting of a corps of disciplined soldiers, which was upheld by the enthusiasm of rest. The king tried to raise an army in order to face the this formidable host but failed to get together a respectable number. He was compelled to call another General Assembly as well as a Scotch Parliament. The inevitable followed. The new Assembly followed the first and decreed the abolition of the bishoprics in Scotland. What was Charles to do? To give up church government by bishops at the dictates of a popular Assembly was hard enough, but he had no means of withstanding this demand. Rather than do it, he called an English Parliament so that he might be able to meet the danger from Scotland. He hoped that the traditional English jealousy of Scotland would make this short Parliament grant

him the desired supplies now that the news of Scotch negotiations with France was made public. But under the leadership of Pym the Commons refused to grant him any money and were on the point of advising him to come to terms with the Scots when exasperated, the king dissolved this Parliament.

The signs were ominous but Charles and his advisers disregarded them. Scotland must have Bishops and in order to force them on her desperate attempts were made to get some money and an army together. Strafford proposed to bring his Irish troops to England. Loans had to be raised in London and elsewhere. But before anything effective could be done, the Scotch army had crossed the frontier and defeated the English forces. The king tried various means for getting out of this awkward hole in vain. He was compelled to sign the Treaty of Ripon whereby Scots were allowed to occupy two English counties as a guarantee that they would be paid £850 a day till their claims were finally settled.

But the king had not a farthing wherewith to meet these claims. The only way out of the difficulty was to summon another Parliament.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CIVIL WAR

Long Parliament.—The end of the eleven years' personal rule was hastened by the pressure of a war brought about by the King's folly. The Long Parliament that met in 1640 was legally in session till 1660. It began by reforming the constitution and making a repetition of the King's personal rule impossible. This done, it was split up into two groups on the religious question which paved the way for the Civil War. It vigorously carried on the war when it broke out. After securing the defeat of the King's forces it quarrelled with the army. This brought about ultimately the Pride's purge when it was reduced to a skeleton of its former self. The rule of the purged Parliament did not last long, it had soon to give place to a Parliament of saints. After many years' oblivion, it was called to life in 1659 on the eve of the Restoration but it was then an instrument of a republic. It dissolved itself in 1660 not before paving the way for the restoration by calling a 'free parliament.' Such in short is the curious history of the assembly that now met together.

But the immediate problems had to be solved first. The Scots were voted £300,000 as a brotherly assistance with a view to bring that irritating chapter of English history to a close. The victims of the arbitrary government were now released and compensated. Then followed an attack on king's counsellors who were supposed to be

responsible for the miseries of eleven long years. Strafford was at once impeached, and two great ministers fled to the continent to escape impeachment. Laud's turn came next. Strafford and Laud were the two chief instruments of King's policy. But what had the Commons against them? The charge of treason that was brought against them could not have been proved as they had only obeyed and advised the King. It speaks much for the judicial temper of Englishmen that though passions were roused the Commons could not expect the Lords to give a perverse verdict. Impeachment was given up. Bills of attainder were introduced. Impeachment was a judicial process, an attainder simply represented the nation's sense of danger from the two men now brought to book. The Bill of attainder against Strafford was passed by both the Houses by May, 1641. Charles would have liked to save this faithful servant of his who had given his best to the state. But popular feelings ran high and Strafford was executed on May 12, 1647. Laud lay forgotten in the tower for four long years to be executed when he had ceased to be dangerous—during the Civil War.

The instruments of tyranny removed, it now remained to take steps to make its repetition impossible. Parliament had at the same time been busy in an extensive scheme of reforms. In February 1641, the Triennial Act was passed ensuring taat a Parliament must be called every three years. The Tonnage and the Poundage Act that followed legalized the import duties so far realized by royal authority but in future they could only be raised by Parliamentary grant. Then came an attack on the Court of Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission which had been used as a useful instrument of tyranny.

All the prerogative Courts were now abolished and their future erection made impossible. Wedged in between these came a provision making the liberty of the subject safe It was made obligatory for the King's Courts to decide within three days the cases where the King had ordered arrest of suspects. The Courts must either grant bail, remand or release the persons if moved by the accused. Suit followed after suit and was declared illegal. The King was further deprived of his power to use the obsolete forest laws and knight's bond fees as a source of revenues. But the most important measure was the act which declared that the Long Parliament would not be dissolved without its own consent. These measures effected a per manent change in the nature of the English Constitution. No king could now rule without Parliament, nor overawe his subjects by his special courts and all nonparliamentary sources of revenue were stopped. Thus a great step in constitutional advance had been taken.

But with this solid and permanent achievement to its credit, the Long Parliament was not content. It left the path of reform and entered that of revolution. The determining factor was religion. It was a thorny problem. The difficulty lay in the fact that all sides were agreed on conformity. The House of Commons was unfavourable to the existing state of things in the church. Different schemes were put forward for the settlement of this question. It seemed for a time that the scheme of reorganization sponsored by the new Archbishop might carry the day against the more radical proposals of the Root and Branch men who wanted to abolish bishoprics. But the King played into the hands of the extremists. He would not give the necessary assurances to make the scheme

workable. Then came the Catholic rebellion in Ireland. Exasperated by the prospect of Puritan supremacy, enraged by the Plantations of Ulster and Connaught, led by a desire to restore Roman Catholicism in Ireland, the Irish Roman Catholics got their opportunity during the weak government that followed Strafford to England. It profoundly altered the aspect of affairs. Parliament decided to use it as an excuse for an intensive campaign against the Roman Catholics, it created a vicious circle by deciding to make the rebellion pay for itself by confiscating more Irish land. But it brought forth in an acute form another very important problem.

Rebellion can only be put down by an army. But a majority in Parliament did not trust the king. Hence Pym proposed that Charles be voted supplies on the condition that he employed ministers acceptable to Parliament, failing which Parliament should concert measures for suppressing rebellion in Ireland. This was carried by a majority of 41 votes. Here the parting of the ways was discernible. Commons divided on the question of religion were further divided on the question whether Parliament should or should not take the revolutionary step of taking over the executive power. Naturally the Root and Branch opponents of episcopacy now became Parliamenterians whereas the Episcopalians became royalists. This was followed by the passage of the Grand Remonstrance by a majority of eleven votes. This resolution of the Commons is divisible into three parts. The first accuses the King of certain acts. The second proposes a religious policy purely Puritan in character. The third carries the principle of Pym's amendment further by insisting that he should choose ministers acceptable to Parliament

alone. The split in the ranks of the reformers was due more to religious differences than to political division. The voting on the Grand Remonstrance foreshadowed the Civil War. As long as the religious question had not been raised and revolutionary demands had not been made, the King was without a party. Now however when King's own conduct rendered revolutionary demands possible and the Puritans pushed forward their extremist views about the Church, he acquired a party.

Events now moved rapidly. Parliament did not trust the King and was therefore preparing plans for taking over the executive government in its own hands if necessary. The King was however beforehand with them. He made quite an unnecessary, unprovoked and futile attempt to arrest personally five leading members of the majority parts in the Commons who had been opposing him. He went to the House to find that they were not there. The Speaker refused to answer the King as he had no instructions from the Commons. Disappointed the King left the House in anger. This high-handedness induced the Lords to pass the bill for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords which had been before them. War was now inevitable. Both sides made attempts to get the control of the armed forces in the country. Parliament took the control of the militia into its own hands. The King tried to seize Hull but was refused admission by the commander. Parliament presented its final demand in the Nineteen Propositions which proposed transferring the executive power to Parliament. Charles refused these demands.

There was nothing left for it but war. On August 22nd Charles raised his standard at Nottingham. The Civil War had begun.

Objects of the War.—Parliament was anticipating the final settlement of the English constitution and demanded that the King should part with his executive authority as it had been proved that he could use it against the people. The King was fighting for the retention of the royal powers as it existed at that time. Thus the king wanted to preserve the constitution whereas Parliament wanted an advance and a radical change.

The issue was complicated by the religious question. The Parliamentarians were mostly Puritan who hated episcopacy, while the king's supporters wanted to preserve the existing arrangements as Laud understood them. Thus the King and his supporters were conservatives in church and religion whereas his opponents were radicals demanding necessary changes in state.

Parties in the Civil War.—The Roman Catholics, most of the nobles, landed gentry with long pedigrees, towns where the influence of the church predominated were for the king. The Puritans, some of the nobles, new landed gentry, business classes, great cities and ports favoured the Parliamentary cause. The King had an army ready to begin with. Parliament commanded the sea ports and therefore the navy. Its control of the great trade centres and ports gave it a financial advantage which proved effective in the end.

The war that followed is unique among the civil wars and revolutionary risings of the world. There were no base desertions as had marked the Wars of the Roses; both sides sincerely believed in their cause and fought for it. There were no selfish motives edging on the participants as in the French Revolution. It was not disfigured by any reign of terror.

The War.—The main war lasted till 1646. From 1642 to 1646 it was a contest between the King and Parliament. Charles was defeated and surrendered in 1646. Two years were then spent in idle negotiation which failed because the King would not play straight. In April 1648 began the second civil war incited by the King when he was ostensibly busy in negotiating—alternately or together—with Parliamentory party, Scots and the army. It was over within four months and the execution of Charles brought it to a natural end. A republic was then established but Charles II attempted to assert his claims in Scotland and Ireland and it was not till 1652 that these risings were finally crushed.

In the beginning the King had distinct advantage in cavalry. His gentlemen soldiers were used to arms. Under his nephew Rupert they proved themselves more than a match for the Parliamentary armies. Charles however failed to capture London in 1642 and early 1643. Both sides then tried to enlist outside help. Charles made a treaty with the Irish granting them toleration. This made the English army in Ireland available for service in England. Parliament on the other hand made common cause with the Scotch. The alliance between Parliament and Scotland, though it ensured the final defeat of the King, sowed the seeds of future dissension. The battle of Marston Moor in July 1644 marked the first great victory of popular forces. It brought to the front the Ironsides commanded by Cromwell who was at this time establishing his reputation. Royalists obtained some minor successes. It was becoming abundantly clear that if Parliament wanted to win it must organize a more disciplined army. This was attempted in the New Model Army

raised by Oliver Cromwell. It was mostly drawn from among the ranks of religious enthusiasts who became the core of the Parliamentary army. This was followed by a Self-Denying Ordinance which forbade a man to be both a member of Parliament and an officer. This was indended to create professional officers. Hitherto officers had been appointed for their position in Parliament rather than for their military skill.

The Self-Denying Ordinance made one exception. Oliver Cromwell who had come to the forefront as a great military leader in the early stages of the war, had increased his reputation by the conduct of the soldiers that he had gathered round him. His Ironsides proved a model for the Parliamentary army and when the need for a more disciplined army was felt, he was commissioned to raise and train the New Model Army.

The new army justified itself and the hopes of its commanders at the battle of Naseby. The royal forces were defeated and the King had very little chance of success.

Meanwhile in Scotland Montrose had been fighting on behalf of the King. In 1644 he had been successful enough to make Charles think of joining him after his defeat at Naseby. But Montrose was defeated at Philipaugh and with his defeat King's last hopes were destroyed.

Early in 1646, the King surrendered to the Scots. His defeat was due to various causes. Except Prince Rupert the royal side failed to produce any great general. The lack of funds put the King in difficulties and though his supporters helped him generously, Parliament could raise money much more easily in cities and by duties collected in ports. The defection of the navy which had been built

up with the help of illegal ship money was an irony of fate for which Charles paid dearly. The alliance between the Scots and the English parliamentarians also secured Parliament from an attack from the north besides keeping in check the royalist activities of Montrose and his followers. Above all Cromwell's generalship and the discipline of the New Model Army had no match in the royal ranks.

Trial and death of Charles I.—Defeated and a prisoner. Charles still did not give up hope. Had he sincerely desired a settlement of the constitutional question, he would have been able to keep not only his head but his throne as well. But he did not think himself fairly beaten, and he had no idea how far his subjects were capable of going if goaded on. The dissensions among his ememies, the Army, Parliament, and the Scots led him to hope that he might be able to become master of the situation. He forgot however that the three differed on the religious question alone, but as far as the constitutional issue was concerned all of them were united.

For a time the quarrels among his enemies gave him a chance. Parliament became afraid of the army. But in their haste to get rid of this instrument of their victory, they were less than just. They ordered the army to disband without, however, paying its arrears of pay. Naturally the army resented this step-motherly treatment, especially when the Scottish army had been paid in full. They now transferred the King to their own control and brought him to New Market. They hoped to deal directly with him for a settlement as also to be able to get full pay from Parliament.

Meanwhile the soldiers had evolved an Army Council. No body yet thought of dethroning Charles much less of executing him. The Army Council offered Charles a reasonable settlement in the Heads of Proposals. It advocated toleration in Church. In state it left the King more powers than were allowed him in the Nineteen Propositions. But the King was only waiting for his opportunity. He escaped from Hampton Court to Carisbrooke Castle. He entered into negotiations with the Scots and gave them an undertaking to establish Presbyterianism in England. The army hated episcopacy but it was not Presbyterian. Naturally the new settlement could only be imposed over their heads.

Charles incited royalist risings in England and the Scotch army invaded England in 1648. Thus the foolishness of Charles brought about a second civil war. But Cromwell and his army were more than a match for Charles and the Scots. Within four months the Scots were defeated and driven across the border. The royalist risings had all been put down. Cromwell had made his first decisive contribution to the history of England. He had saved England from the Scots and Presbyterianism.

But the defeat of the King in the second civil war meant much more than that. Charles had proved himself untrustworthy and the extremists in the army who had seen their comrades die in their hundreds in the second civil war were inflamed. They wanted to hold him responsible for the wanton bloodshed caused, just as after the Great European War the allies wanted to try the Kaiser of Germany for provoking the war. The army now wanted to try and punish the King. But that could only be

done through Parliament. But Parliament as it was then constituted would not support the proposal. Colonel Pride thereupon went up to the House of Commons and turned out all the Presbyterian members who were opposed to the army. The Pride's purge left a rump Parliament in session. This was constituted into a High Court of Justice which was to try the king. A trial or a travesty of one—was held, not more unfair than those by which the King had sentenced some of his own opponents through his own prerogative courts. That the trial was illegal goes without saying. It was the act of a revolutionary body faced with a new situation. That the judges who met in court to pronounce Charles a tyrant had no popular mandate will be admitted. But Charles had challenged the theory of government which was within half a century to become the accepted law of the land. To Cromwell and the victorious army Charles appeared as the main obstacle to the establishment of a constitutional government. He was therefore sacrificed to this feeling of theirs and executed in 1649.

'Nothing became him as much as his death.' The King's execution naturally produced a revulsion of feeling in his favour which was to result at last in the Restoration of his son in 1660. But the work of the regicides had not been ill done. His son had to accept the terms they had once offered him and on which they would probably have spared him.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE.

The King was executed in 1649; his son came to the throne in 1660. These eleven years were full of constitutional experiments. Till 1652 the Rump under the obvious supervision of the army as represented in the Council of State carried on the government. Then for some time the Army Council held sway under Cromwell's lead. It was then that a Parliament of Saints was nominated to share the honour and the difficulties of government. The Instrument of Government established a Protectorate under a Lord Protector and a written constitution. The experiment broke down however. Cromwell then ruled without a Parliament from September, 1654, till September 1656. In June, 1657, the Humble Petition and Advice, made Cromwell a king in everything but name. Cromwell's death in 1658 was soon followed by the Restoration in 1660.

The King's execution had destroyed all authority in the country. The army though it spoke loudly of popular voice could not afford to consult popular opinion as it would have to go against it. In fact it produced anarchy in the country. The situation was so complicated, and there were so many problems to consider that they dared not involve popular support.

Scotland and Ireland.—Charles II was proclaimed King in Scotland by the Presbyterians and in Ireland by the

Roman Catholics. In Scotland there was some feudal feeling in favour of Charles II in the Highlands and Montrose had proclaimed him King in 1649. But Montrose was soon defeated at Corbiesdale and executed. Charles II now hastened to Scotland and made a solemn agreement with the Presbyterians to establish their system of Church government in Scotland and force it upon England. The allies were preparing to advance upon England when Cromwell was thoroughly ready to meet them. He invaded Scotland and at the battle of Dunbar in September, 1650, he gained the most brilliant victory of his career. The Scots now tried to give him the slip to enter England. They were rudely disappointed to find no royalist reaction to welcome them and at Worcestor (September, 1651) the Scotch army was finally destroyed. Charles II had to leave England for France after many hair-breadth escapes. Scotland was soon after reduced to obedience and made a part of the great commonwealth. What royal James had not been able to do, the plebeian Cromwell accomplished. England and Scotland were united and Scotland was represented in such parliaments of the period as were called. Freedom of trade between the two counrties led to economic prosperity. Order was preserved and peace safeguarded.

In Ireland Cromwell's first task was to reduce the country. His brilliant military genius gained victories at Drogheda and Wexford, which however, were marred by the methods of frightfulness which he indulged in. They had their effect in reducing other towns to submission. Ireland was completely reconquered by 1652.

Cromwell had a difficult task in England. Toleration for Roman Catholics seemed to be dangerous to the state as in the days of Elizabeth. But though following the example of Elizabeth and Charles before him, Cromwel carried through the work of confiscation on a larger scale. This left behind it a legacy of ill-will which was not easily forgotten.

Meanwhile another danger had threatened the Commonwealth. The Navy had been faithful to Parliament, but the bickerings of Parliament, the Scots, and the army led a part of it to go over to the king's side. Prince Rupert now cammanded the royal navy and he tried to inflict some damage on the coast towns. Blake however was more than a match for him. Rupert was beaten back and his fleet was destroyed in 1651.

The Commonwealth was now safe. It had united England, Ireland and Scotland. It granted toleration to all except the Roman Catholics who would not agree to be faithful to it. Commercial jealousy led it to pass a Navigation Act (1651) which challenged the carrying trade of the Dutch. Goods brought into England could only be carried either in English ships or the ships of the country of origin. Further commercial jealousy and sensitiveness of the new government led to the First Dutch War (1651—1654) in which English Admiral Blake made a name for himself by defeating the Dutch fleet under Van Trump in the grandest sea war that the world had known.' English supremacy in the narrow seas was established and they came to take more than their due share in the carrying trade.

But meanwhile the rule of the Rump was wrecked on the rock of experience. Its attempt to perpetuate itself

drove Cromwell to desperation and he hastened to the house to drive out the members and lock the doors (April 1653).

Cromwell was now in a fix. The Rump had some claim to representative character. What was to take its place? Dare he allow a 'free election' with the knowledge that it would bring forth anarchy if not civil war. It had been the tragedy of Cromwell's life to become the instrument of forces which he hated most. The author of the Heads of the Proposals (1647) to Charles I was forced to become the instrument of a regicide faction because he felt that Charles' death alone would ensure constitutional government. After the King's execution he served as the Commander-in-Chief under the Rump and the Council of State but never dreamt of establishing his own absolute rule though he had an army at his back. He had always tried to restrain the fiercer spirits among the army. But he felt now that he could not risk a general election. He believed in Parliamentary government even though he was obliged to purge one Parliament and dismiss three. He tried to call together an assembly of saints nominated by himself and the army. The experiment failed not before the Barebone's Parliament—so called after the name of one of its members—God Praise Barbon—resigned its powers into the hands of Lord General Cromwell, the only authority to be found in the kingdom.

The Protectorate.—The army now proceeded to draw up a new plan of Government. The Instrument of Government was a wise though a novel experiment as setting up a Government under a written constitution with the powers of the different members of the sovereign body limited as was done later on in the United States of America. Though it did not affect the main stream of constitutional deve-

lopment in England, it foreshadowed many necessary reforms of later years. It united England, Scotland, and Ireland. It redistributed representation in Parliament between the counties and the boroughs and made it more reasonable. It granted toleration to all except the Roman Catholics and episcopalians. It lodged the government in the person of a Lord Protector with a Council of State to help him. The Parliament that was set up was to have the right of limited legislation. But it was something new in England and it did not work. Cromwell used the months thaelapsed since his proclamation as the Lord Protector till the meeting of Parliament in issuing a set of reforming ordinances concerning the church, manners and law. But when Parliament met in September, 1654, it questioned the right of the Instrument of Government to limit their power. They claimed to be the repositories of popoular sovereignty. A quarrel between the Protector and his Parliament followed over the amendment of the constitution and Cromwell dissolved Parliament according to the Instrument of Government after it had been five months in session.

Cromwell was now Lord Protector, enjoying all the kingly powers with none of his limitations. In 1657 the constitution was again amended by Parliament. Cromwell was asked to be a King but he refused the offer. A House of Lords was established, nominated by the Protector. This reduced his majority in the Commons and he dissolved his second Parliament in Febuary, 1658.

Thus from 1652 till his death in 1658 Cromwell really was the chief instrument of government in the country.

Religious Policy.—Cromwell would have liked, as in the Heads of Proposals to grant toleration to a Protestant

sects. But his more enthusiastic followers would not allow him that luxury and he had to limit his toleration to all sects of Puritans only. Thus Roman Catholics and Churchmen suffered. The Puritans represented the majority of the nation. Public worship of Churchmen was often winked at, and the Roman Catholics were freed from the fines and other penal measures.

The Puritan monopoly of power during the Protectorate produced its necessary antithesis after the Restoration when the Cavalier Parliament treated the Puritans almost as outlaws. But this was partly due to the Puritan insistence upon making others follow their rule of life. Theatres were closed, church festivals ceased to be celebrated, and popular amusements were suppressed. But Cromwell had shown the way which the nation finally adopted in the reign of William III when a Toleration Act was passed.

Domestic Policy.—At first Cromwell let the local Government alone. But when attempts were made on his life, he divided the country into eleven districts under major-generals. They were hated as the symbol of his military rule. Cromwell's rule secured some sort of peace and order in a difficult period.

Foreign Policy.—It was in the domain of foreign policy that Cromwell made his mark. He tried to establish first a Protestant League with the help of Holland. But religious divisions were becoming out of date in the seventeenth century. The Dutch chose to be the commercial rivals of the English rather than their religious colleagues. He had, however, an opportunity of interfering in the quarrel between Spain and France for supremacy on the continent. Both sides

wanted his help. Spain could not afford the price that Cromwell tried to extort from her. France was found willing to accept the English demand. By his French alliance, Cromwell succeeded in saving the Protestants of Savoy from persecution. The war that was started against Spain in 1655 was carried on in the best Elizabethan spirit. An expedition was sent to the West Indies and Jamaica was captured. Blake, the greatest seaman of the seventeenth century won notable victories over the Spaniards. His capture of Spanish treasure ships in 1657 recalled the daring deeds of Drake and his companions. The subsequent destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz reminded men of the Spanish Armada and its fate. English victory was not, nowever, confined to the high seas alone. In 1658 the new model army landed in Flanders, defeated the Spaniards in the Battle of Dunes and captured Dunkirk which remained in English hands till 1662 when Charles II sold it to France.

Death of Cromwell : End of Puritan Rule.—In 1658 Cromwell died. He had served England well and truly and if his rule was as despotic as that of the King whom he replaced, it was often so because there was no other alternative. Cromwell rose to be the King of England in everything but name but it was not his ambition that drove him on, but his sense of public necessity. It was due to him that the king's absolute rule came to an end in England, the Restoration and the Revolution were but an outcome of Cromwell's victory over Charles. He saved the liberties of the English subjects from being crushed by English kings. He showed his statesmanship by anticipating many reforms of later days. His policy of toleration encouraged free churches and free thinking.

His union of the three kingdoms, his electoral changes, his legal reforms entitle him to a high rank among statesmen. In foreign policy his rule is the only bright record between 1603 and 1688. Rulers who hated him as a regicide had to seek his help and friendship.

But his triumph was personal. The country wanted to revert to a monarchy and was prepared even to make him a king. His son Richard Cromwell filled his place rather uncomfortably for about 2 years. He was not a great soldier, his rule failed to satisfy either the army or the Parliament that he called but had soon to dissolve. Weary of the quarrel he abdicated in 1659.

The only legal authority in the country was the Rump. The generals Fleetwood and Lambert tried to play for their own selfish ends, but Monk who had been Cromwell's representative in Scotland now dominated events. At the head of his army he left Scotland without disclosing his plans. The Rump met, received back the members whom Pride had expelled, became the full Long Parliament and then dissolved itself.

Monk now ordered elections for a new Parliament. Meanwhile Charles II issued a declaration from his refuge at Breda. He assured liberty of conscience to Protestants, full payment to the army, pardon to all except those excluded therefrom by Parliament. He did not promise any constitutional concession. The new Convention Parliament—so called because it had not been called by the King—decided to call Charles II to the throne. Thus the Puritan rule came to an end.

The Puritans made possible the Glorious Revolution of 1689. The seventeen years of their supremacy had important results. The divine right of kings to hold despotic

sway over their subjects disappeared. The financial independence of the king came to an end, his prerogative courts were destroyed. Thus the English king had been made to part with his instruments of despotism. Further the House of Commons now acquired decidedly a decisive voice in the government of the country. Roman Catholicism had now definitely been rejected as the state religion of the country. But the experiment of the Commonwealth government made the English still more shy of a standing army and failed to win their confidence in the radical method. The republican form was definitely ruled out as unsuitable for England and the cause of monarchy gained additional support.

In another sphere the overdone gravity of the Puritans was now followed by a reaction. Under James I Shakespeare's later plays had been written. Beamont and Fletcher also had added a number of plays to English literature. But the Puritan rule dammed this flood of—what seemed to them—light literature. At the Restoration the play-wrights came into more than their own. The Restoration comedy represented a strong reaction against Puritan rule of life.

But the restoration was a necessity. The nation was weary of military rule. Cromwell's rule had some excuse, but that of his successor was without even a shadow of justification. Resentment against the imposition of Puritan ways of life was being felt among a certain section of people. All desired a return to civil rule.

CHAPTER XXV

THE RESTORATION

Significance of the Restoration.—With Charles II's coming to England, monarchy was restored. Charles had no intention of going on his travels again. He accepted all that his father refused—the disappearance of the prerogative court and the end of extra-parliamentary taxation. The Government over which he presided was essentially different from the one his father had tried to preserve. But it was not the restoration of monarchy alone. Parliament was also restored in its functions and composition. It ceased to be the united Parliament of the three kingdoms. The Scotch Parliament was revived and the Irish Parliament was brought back to life. The English Parliament now represented England and Wales only. The two houses, one of them hereditary, again met in London. The Parliamentary reforms of Cromwell were destroyed, limits placed on the sovereignty of Parliament by the Instrument of Government were removed. But here again the powers of Parliament were not the same as in 1640. The control over the purse now definitely passed into its hands. By granting an income of £1,200,000 for life to the King it made him surrender the royal feudal dues. In 1665 an Appropriation Act was passed. In 1666 Commissioners were appointed to audit the accounts. The impeachment of Clarendon was a move to assert Parliament's

resolve to keep the executive under control. Parliament was now established as the senior partner in the government. The Acts of the Long Parliament to which Charles had given his assent stood as the law of the land. This was accompanied by the restoration of the old land-owning gentry to their place in local affairs as in the Commons and the Lords.

Soon came the restoration of the church as well. Though the Presbyterians in the Convention Parliament had been the means of inviting Charles II to the throne, the first regular Parliament of Charles, the Cavalier Parliament, was composed mostly of strong churchmen. The Episcopalian system had been restored by the Convention Parliament. The bishops had been restored to their place in the House of Lords, their spiritual powers and bishoprics were restored, about a thousand clergy who had been dispossessed under Cromwell were reinstated. But the Court of High Commission had disappeared and with it much of the power and pride of the church. It was definitely brought under the control of Parliament.

The Cavalier Parliament.– The Cavalier Parliament improved upon its position by the passage of the Clarendon Code known after the name of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Clarendon who was now back from his exile. The Corporation Act of 1661 closed the municipal bodies to dissenters. The Act of Uniformity in 1662 expelled 2,000 clergy because they would not accept without qualification the Prayer Book. The Conventicle Act of 1664, penalized religious meetings of the dissenters by punishing those attending it. The

Five Miles Act, 1665, almost closed municipal cities to dissenting teachers and preachers.

The Clarendon Code was an act of revenge. Driven out of Government by the Puritans during the Commonwealth, the Cavaliers now had their turn and turned out the despised roundheads from city and school, Universities and Parliament. It effected a social revolution and forced majority of the squires to conform to the Anglican Church. But it hit English trade and commerce hard. It was effectively enforced and therefore kept up a tradition of dissent alive in church that was the main strength of the Whig party in the next century.

In another sense it was a consolation prize. The cavaliers would have, most of all, liked to be restored to all their former property, they desired to take revenge upon all and sundry who had taken part in the Commonwealth government. To this Charles refused to be a party. Under the direction of Clarendon he insisted on granting amnesty to all but a handful of judges who had taken part in the King's trial and execution. Baulked of their revenge on the leaders, the cavaliers indulged in this wholesale proscription of the rank and file. They also felt aggrieved that only their confiscated lands were restored to them; but not the property they had themselves sold.

Such was the Restoration settlement. It was not a going back to the old days that Cromwell had striven to make impossible.

The reign of Charles II was a prelude to the Glorious Revolution. The monarchy had been fairly beaten in the Civil War, but Charles knew it not. He loved pleasure, he was selfish, but he knew rather dimly the limits to which he

could safely go. He tried rather to control Parliament than to oppose it. When that failed he tried to become independent of Parliament by becoming a pensioner of Louis XIV. He was restored to the throne as the saviour of the Church of England, he persecuted Puritans but he died a Roman Catholic. Pleasure loving though he was, he kept all the threads of policy in his own hands and used his ministers as a screen.

Edmund Hyde, a companion in his exile was his first Lord Chancellor. He was the ablest of the royalists and Charles was glad to utilise his abilities. He had begun by opposing Charles I in Parliament, but when the Long Parliament began to attack the executive power of the King and the Anglican church, he went over to the King's side. He became the constitutional adviser of the King during the civil war. He then joined young Charles in Holland. After the death of Charles I, he became the confident adviser of Charles II. He drew up the declaration of Breda in 1660 and on the King's Restoration he became Lord Chancellor as the Earl of Clarendon. He married one of his daughters to James the younger brother of Charles, which helped to strengthen his influence.

Able lawyer as he was, Clarendon desired to keep up the balance between King and Parliament and as was natural failed to please either. He failed to get enough revenue to make Charles independent of Parliament. He opposed the King's desire to keep a standing army in England, though he was able to employ small paid armies in Scotland and Ireland. He was instrumental in moderating the desire for revenge upon the Commonwealth leaders so common in Cavalier Parliament. He tried to restrain Parliament when it made—what seemed to him—

revolutionary demands on the King by seeking to audit King's expenditure and specifying the use of funds for particular purposes.

He was a strong Anglican. But in the Declaration of Breda he had held out promises of toleration to tender conscience and it had been understood to promise toleration to Non-Conformists. He favoured the increase in the power of the church, but it was largely against his advice that the set of laws known, as an irony of history, after him as the Clarendon Code was enacted by the Cavalier Parliament.

Foreign Policy of Charles II.—In foreign policy he followed the traditional line of argument. Spain was the natural enemy though the treaty of Westphalia and its supplements had made Louis XIV the greatest monarch in Europe, England remaining tied to an alliance with France. Charles was married to the sister of the Portuguese king. The most interesting result of this was the acquisition of Bombay by Charles who gave it to the East India Company. Clarendon wisely freed England from entanglements on the continent by selling Dunkirk to France in 1662. The second Dutch War (1664—66) was the result of the commercial jealousy between the two countries accentuated by the passage of the Navigation Act (1660) and the disputes between the Dutch and the English settlers in different parts of the globe, particularly in Africa and North America. The two countries drifted into war though it was clearly to the interest of both to keep on friendly terms in face of the possible French expansion of power. England entered in to the struggle rather light-heartedly. In the battle of Lowestoft in 1665 the English under Monk and Rupert defeated the Dutch and followed it up by raiding

the Dutch Coast. But in 1665 the Great Plague broke out when 1,000 men died daily and in London alone the total number of deaths rose to 80,000. It spread to the fleet as well and reduced the number of the sailors. Then came a great fire in London in 1666 which destroyed property worth £ 70,00,000 and rendered 200,000 people homeless. It disorganized supplies to the ships. Meanwhile the navy had been neglected partly by King, and partly by Parliament so that when the Dutch sailed up the Thames they almost came up to London and were able to burn some of the English ships. But peace was at last made in 1667 when the Dutch gave the English New Amsterdam, thus allowing the English colonies to stretch from one end to another on the North American coast. In return they got Palaroon in Spice Islands and Surinam in South America and the navigation laws were also modified in their favour.

Even before the Dutch War, Clarendon had roused opposition. He had made enough of enemies during these eight years of his rule. The King found him loyal but not sufficiently subservient for his ends, courtiers found him too moral for their tastes, the Commons resented his sermons on their alleged encroachments on royal power, the sale of Dunkirk and the failure of the Dutch war was resented by the nation at large. The Commons impeached him for treason, he appealed to Charles in vain and rather than face an angry nation, he fled to France to end his days there in exile. There he wrote his famous history of the great rebellion .

After Clarendon's fall Charles did not lean on any one minister as his chief support. He placed a group of ministers in charge of different departments. It was thought customary to rule with the help of the Privy Council. But the

Privy Council was too big for business. Charles now used a small group of Ministers as instruments of his policy. They were nicknamed Cabal—a faction. It so happened that the initial letters of their names made up the word Cabal—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. With these unprincipled ministers, Charles now entered on a course as humiliating as the path chosen by John when he had become a vassal of the Pope and with the same end in view. Charles wanted to be independent of Parliament. This the cavaliers had prevented by allowing him an insufficient income. If he could be financially independent of Parliament, he could pretty well rule as he liked. The French and the Dutch were again at war, Charles entered into an alliance with the Dutch and their allies the Swedes. This naturally upset the plan of Louis XIV of France who was maturing designs on Holland. His schemes were for the time thwarted. Undismayed he opened negotiations with Charles and by the secret treaty of Dover (1670) the two came to terms. Charles was to assist Louis against the Dutch. In return Louis promised to pay Charles an annual pension so that he might become independent of Parliament. But Louis gained another concession in exchange, Charles declared himself a Roman Catholic and undertook to announce his faith at an opportune time. As this was likely to create some panic in England, Louis further undertook to supply 6,000 soldiers if necessary. This treaty was known in its entirety to only two Roman Catholic members of the Cabal. Others were simply told. This was followed by the Third Dutch War of the century in 1672. Louis failed in his designs, Charles was not able to reap glory by participation in this struggle. Under William II of Orange the Dutch kept the allies in check till peace was made in 1673.

Charles found it difficult to announce his conversion to Catholicism. He contented himself by issuing a proclamation to the effect that penal acts against the Puritans and Papists would not be enforced. This Declaration of Indulgence was sharply criticised as an attempt to repeal laws without resort to Parliament. When Parliament assembled in 1673, it protested against the Declaration. The King was compelled to give in. As a safeguard against further unconstitutional actions of the King the Cavalier Parliament passed an Act to strengthen the laws against Non-Churchmen. The Test Act (1673) expelled Non-Conformists and Roman Catholics from office and made state employment a monopoly of the Anglicans.

This brought the Cabal Government to an end. Its Roman Catholic members had to retire, the Non-Conformist Ashley was disillusioned and resigned. King now chose Earl of Danby as his adviser. He was an influential churchman and Charles thought he would be able to get him out of his difficulties. His appointment was significant ; he was the mouthpiece of the Cavaliers who had a majority in the House of Commons. But the King's game was his own. While Danby was trying to bring about an alliance between England and Holland, the King was busy in impressing upon Louis that if he wanted to keep England from joining Holland, he should pay Charles more. Charles was able to gain another pension. Louis was frightened when Mary, daughter of the Duke of York was married to William III of Holland. He granted a large sum to Charles as the price of his neutrality. Thus on one excuse or another Charles got large sums from Louis and bound himself to his chariot wheels.

Meanwhile an event occurred to intensify anti-Catholic

feelings in the country. Titus Oates, a disreputable Roman Catholic, revealed an alleged plot to assassinate the King, murder the Protestants and place James, Duke of York on the throne. It was a pure invention but such was the state of public feelings against Roman Catholics that a large number of innocent men suffered death on the evidence that Oates invented or supplied. The discovery of some treasonable papers from Coleman, Duke of York's Roman Catholic Secretary, lent plausibility to the story, the murder of the Magistrate before whom he had made his first deposition further strengthened the popular belief. The frenzy of the people came to an end only when the King intervened to stop Oates accusing the queen maliciously and falsely.

The immediate result of the Popish Plot was the passage by Parliament of the Test Act which excluded Non-Conformists and Roman Catholics from both the Houses of Parliament. James was excluded from its provisions though the discovery in Coleman's papers that great hopes were set upon his accession had created some suspicion.

Impeachment of Danby. Meanwhile another event of great constitutional importance had come to pass. Danby was the creator of the Tory party pledged to support the church and the King. As such he roused opposition among his rivals, the Whigs who were organising themselves into a distinct party pledged to constitutional government and toleration. Shaftesbury, formerly Ashley Cooper, Charles' minister, was its leader. Parliament had voted money for a war with France, which was never waged. Louis who had subsidised Charles so long now gave him away in order to revenge himself upon Danby whom he believed

to have been the one obstacle in his way. Charles had made Danby write a letter to Louis asking for a subsidy in return for proroguing Parliament. This letter Louis sent to Shaftesbury who, on its strength, impeached Danby. Once again was Parliament asserting itself. It was trying to control the King's policy by a clumsy method. Danby pleaded that the letter was written at the express command of the King. This would not have probably saved him, but Charles more generous to Danby than to Clarendon dissolved Parliament that had been in existence since 1661. The new Parliament elected in 1679 again attempted to impeach Danby. Its dissolution soon brought the impeachment to an end. Dismissed from office Danby lived to become a minister under William and Mary. Danby's impeachment finally established the responsibility of King's ministers for acts done even at the dictation of the King. Even though Charles pardoned Danby, it was decided that the pardon could not stop his impeachment.

Meanwhile Parliament enacted a very useful measure. the Habeas Corpus Act. Though the liberty of the subject had been partly secured in England since the days of the Magna Carta many holes had been left open for the exercise of the arbitrary power by the King. The writ Habeas Corpus (have the body of......) began to be used as a protection against arbitrary imprisonment in the fifteenth century. The Petition of Rights declared arbitrary imprisonment illegal. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, however, became the surest guarantee of personal liberty. By it arbitrary imprisonment came to an end as it became obligatory on judges to inquire into all causes of arbitrary imprisonment whenever any aggrieved person appealed to them.

Exclusion Bill. Another question in this Parliament cropped up, which divided the country into two parties. The Popish Plot had indicated the possible dangers if a Roman Catholic succeeded to the throne. Shaftesbury tried to use the anti-Catholic feeling for excluding James as he was a Roman Catholic. But Charles and Danby were too much for the Whigs. They declared that such limitations as were thought necessary might be imposed on the future sovereign in order to secure the interest of the Church of England. This parried the blow for the time. But the Whig Parliament of 1679 insisted under Shaftesbury's lead to exclude James from the throne. The quarrel over exclusion and limitation became fierce. Charles dissolved Parliament and called another which took up the Exclusion Bill again. It was passed in the Commons. But as it sought to exclude James without deciding as to his successor, the Lords threw it out. Shaftesbury did not want that James' daughter, Mary, next in succession and his son-in-law William should succeed. His supporters wanted that an illegitimate son of Charles whom he had created Duke of Monmouth should succeed. This discredited him. He called another Parliament in 1681 at Oxford. It seemed as if the nation was once again drifting into Civil War. But the vehemence of the Whigs under Shaftesbury and their concealed references to violence were their undoing. Charles dismissed this Parliament and resolved to rule without one till his death in 1685.

The Whigs were now afraid of the King's vengeance. Shaftesbury and Monmouth left for Holland. The Whigs were further discredited by the foolish Ryehouse Plot in 1683 in which an old Roundhead soldier tried to assassinate

the King on his way to London from Ryehouse, new market. The plot was used for the purpose of implicating many Whigs who were thought dangerous. The plots of Shaftesbury in Holland completed the tale of Whig disaster.

The King now used his opportunity to put an end to independent Parliamentary life in England. Most of the towns were invited to surrender their charters which were radically altered in order to secure the return of more docile members.

In February 1685 Charles died a pensioner of France and reconciled to Roman Catholicism. Like his grandfather James I he paved the way for his successor's downfall though in both cases the successors were more to blame. He left the question of a Protestant nation and a Roman Catholic ruler unsolved, he subordinated English foreign policy to French gold. The excess of loyalist sentiment that had kept on his throne was mostly derived from the Anglicans, and it remained to be seen how they would reconcile their faith when their loyalty to the State would come in conflict with their loyalty to their church.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

Policy of James II. After the death of Charles II, his brother quietly succeeded him amidst the enthusiasm of his subjects. He promised to keep the church sentiment intact. But he read the lesson of the Tory struggle over the Exclusion Bill wrongly when he stood by the Divine Right of Kings. It seemed to him that despite the efforts of a handful of misguided persons, the nation had solidly stood at his back, and he felt that being a son of Charles I, he had been divinely ordained to rule them. The failure of Argyles' attempt at rebellion in Scotland and Monmouth's rising in England further strengthened his belief. He had seen his enemies doing their worst without affecting him the least. No wonder that within a short time he began to mature different designs.

James was a professed Roman Catholic. He declared at his accession that his own religion was his personal affair and that he would not let it interfere with his duty as the Head of the Church of England. Yet the situation was onerous. A Roman Catholic King charged with keeping prosperous the church he detested was an impractibility, which few would have seriously advocated in theory. The seventeenth century Europe had yet to learn toleration and one of the duties of James II as the King of England would be to persecute the followers of the faith which he himself held dear. Yet James was misguided enough to think that he could rely

on the loyalty of the English Tories to their king even when he attacked their church.

He adopted a comprehensive programme. First he would do away with the disabilities from which his co-religionists suffered, with regard to employment in the state and if possible in the church. This would enable him to surround himself with Roman Catholic advisers on whom he might be able to rely. He could then try to grant Roman Catholics toleration by allowing them to conduct open public worship. Then he would see how he could use his opportunities as a Catholic King for the conversion of his English subjects to the true faith from which they had been led astray at the Reformation.

It was easier said than done. Had James been, like Charles II, prepared to become a vassal of Louis XIV, his scheme might have had some chance. With the help of the French gold he could avoid calling Parliament and the military help of Louis XIV would have proved useful to him. Even then success was not sure, but James would have had a better chance. But James was more truthful and honourable than Charles II, his conception of the divine right of Kings stood against subordination to Parliament and Prince alike. He thought of Louis rather late.

James wanted to use the non-conformists for the purpose of obtaining concessions for the Roman Catholics. He would, he thought, offer them toleration for themselves and would naturally expect them to tolerate Roman Catholicism. Further he hoped to strengthen his position by creating a strong standing army which he hoped to be able to use in an emergency.

But James went on with his scheme of converting England to the true faith unmindful of the pitfalls in his way. He asked his first and only Parliament which was predominantly Tory to repeal the Test Act. They had voted a revenue of two million pounds a year to James and this made him financially independent. They refused however to repeal the Test Act and further opposed his attempt to obtain a standing army. Irritated James prorogued it. He now resorted to the use of his own royal powers. He appointed a Roman Catholic, Hales, to a commission in the army; Hales' servant was then asked to bring a case against him for accepting office without taking the Test. When the case was brought before the Court, Hales produced a certificate from the King enabling him to hold office without taking the Test. The judges held that James could exempt individuals from the operation of the Test Act by granting dispensations. The King had the right to pardon an offence after its commission, he could therefore pardon an offender before he had committed the offence. Delighted, James went on filling the army and the Court with Roman Catholics. He turned into a system a right that was admittedly for rarer use. The Test Act was thus nullified by the king's executive action. He now used this decision to fill up the army with Roman Catholic Officers. Further the local government was wholly transformed bv replacing the existing justices of peace by Non-Comformist and Roman Catholic Magistrates. He followed it up by introducing into the Privy Council avowed Roman Catholics. His own confessor was admitted thereto. Several of them embers were invited to adopt Catholic faith or asked to take public part in Catholic ceremonies. On their refusal they were turned out and their places filled by Roman Catholics.

Naturally the Church of England resented these inroads and some of its more fanatic clergymen began to preach against Roman Catholics. The King tried to silence these outbursts but failed. His failure led him to revive the Court of High Commission filled by submissive judges to be used as a means for silencing opposition to King's measures and attacks on the Church of Rome. With this pliant weapon ready to hand, the king now went further in his scheme of catholicising the Church and the Universities. Both at Oxford and Cambridge an attempt was made to appoint Roman Catholics to vacancies. Sir Isac Newton, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, was deprived of his office for protesting against and refusing to be a party to this Romanising scheme. In the church the more recalcitrant bishops were punished. Then he tried still further to remodel the Parliamentary boroughs and admit dissenters and Roman Catholics thereto. Roman Catholic Lord-Lieutenants were appointed with a view to pack Parliament, if it should be necessary and safe enough to call it.

Trial of Seven Bishops. These measures for catholicising local administration, Privy Council, the Church and the Universities were having their effect, when James chose to issue a more comprehensive measure. He was doubtful even if a packed Parliament would repeal the Test Act. He had tried his dispensing power. He now went a step forward. From relief to individuals he passed on to toleration for all. A declaration of indulgence was issued in 1687 proclaiming that the King in his infinite wisdom had thought it fit to order that the penalties against the Roman Catholics and Dissenters would no longer be enforced. Dispensation

had been used to remove civic disabilities in individual cases, power of indulgence was used on behalf of religious toleration. Freedom of public worship was allowed to Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike. All civic disabilities on them were removed. It was a move in the right direction but through a wrong way. The year 1687 however is memorable in English history as it marked the beginning of religious toleration. A year later by a second declaration the King commanded that the Declaration of 1687 should be read in every Church on Sunday. This was a challenge which the Church of England could hardly refuse to accept. It had preached passive obedience, even to a Catholic King when its votaries had not known what type of King he would make. But when they discovered that not only were they being reduced to a position of equality with other Churches, but that their own establishments were going to be filled by Roman Catholics and that there was a distinct danger that Roman Catholicism might be restored in England, they had to decide between loyalty to Church and loyalty to the King. They decided to stand by the former. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops met together, and drafted a petition to the King that he would spare the Church this humiliation. The King was angry when he received the petition and still more angry when he discovered that on the appointed day hardly a clergyman read the Declaration. The bishops were arrested and charged with seditious libel for publishing and presenting the petition. They were tried but were finally acquitted to the great joy of the whole kingdom.

The arrest and trial of the seven bishops broke the camel's back. James had shown little solicitude

for the welfare of the church, his reign had been one long attempt to subvert it and Romanize the country. A papal representative was openly received, three papal delegates came to divide the spiritual care of the faithful in England among them. That was not all. James strove to do it all by means of his own sovereign power. Religious toleration was good, though the church could be made to swallow this bitter pill with difficulty. But James had set out to achieve it by way of his own sovereign power. Parliament of Charles had compelled the King to withdraw his declaration of indulgence and James's Parliament had protested against dispensation. There was no doubt that if the King's right to repeal wholesale penal laws was once admitted there would be an end to all Parliamentary legislation. James had further alarmed Londoners and Englishmen by his attempts at overawing them by an army which was composed mostly of Roman Catholic officers and which soon came to include a fairly large number of the Irish and the Scotch. The memories of Cromwell's military rule were revived and Englishmen felt apprehensive lest their liberties be overriden by these 'Irish savages.' James had hoped that the Dissenters would uphold him in his attack upon the church that persecuted them and would stand by him for liberating them from its tyranny. There was some fear that the Declaration of Indulgence might bring them over to the king's side. They however rallied in time. If the churchmen had to decide between their loyalty to the church and loyalty to the King, the Dissenters had to choose between religious toleration and removal of disabilities on one side and Parliamentary government on the other. Fortunately for the nation they stood by Parliamentary government though Parliaments had treated them shamefully.

Before the bishops had been acquitted, a son had been born to James. This had completely revolutionized the aspect of affairs in England. James' tyranny was bearable if Englishmen could be assured that it would one day come to an end. But a non-parliamentary government and Romanizing King could not be accepted as a permanent arrangement in the English constitution. Yet this was what the English were now threatened with. The young prince would be brought up as a Roman Catholic, he would continue the Roman Cotholic tradition of his father. So prompt action became necessary if this evil was to be forestalled.

Invitation to William and Mary. The English hopes centred round William and Mary. Mary was James's heir whereas William also had some remote claims to inheritance. Mary so far had been looked upon as the heir to the throne and several influential and powerful men joined together in order to send a letter to William inviting him to land in England with an army.

William issued a declaration which gave a connected account of James's inroads upon the English church and English liberties. Like Monk he declared he would leave the decision to Parliament when he reached England. James was now frightened but he stopped short of submission. He cancelled many of his illegal acts but clung hard to his dispensing and suspending power. In November when William landed, James was obliged to leave England for France rendering the throne vacant.

A Convention now met and asked William to administer the country till a regular government was constituted. This was followed by a Convention Parliament.

A long and fierce controversy raged regarding the exact nature of the event that had taken place as also the future of the English Government. After a good deal of discussion it was held that James had abdicated, and therefore, the throne was vacant. The Crown of England was offered to William and Mary jointly. This however was accompanied by a Bill of Rights which stated the true and ancient liberties of Englishmen.

Thus Parliament elected a King on its own terms without shedding a drop of blood. James had overshot the mark, his policy left him hardly a supporter bold enough to raise a protest.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REVOLUTIONARY SETTLEMENT

Characteristics of the English Revolution. The Revolution of 1688, bloodless though it was, brought to a decisive conclusion the struggle between the Crown and Parliament, that had been going on throughout the seventeenth century. Several of its aspects deserve careful consideration. To some the method by which it was brought about is as important as its result. It was a noteworthy feature of the struggle that whereas in 1642 Charles fighting for the divine right of kings was able to gather round him a respectable party and thus to bring about a Civil War, James had so completely forfeited popular confidence that not a shot was fired in his defence. The small majority with which the Grand Remonstrance had been carried in 1641 was not smaller than the majority by which the resolution inviting William and Mary to fill the throne was carried in the Convention Parliament. But the unanimity of 1688 was absent in 1641. At the Civil War people were divided on the r eligious issue, in 1688 they were united mostly by the fear of danger to a Protestant country from a Roman Catholic prince.

As significant as this unanimity of opinion was its Parliamentary character. Of course William was invited by an all-party group outside Parliament. But the final phases of the revolution that decided the issue were all enacted

within the four walls of Parliament. Popular feelings were no doubt well represented by these members of Convention Parliament, but unlike the French Revolution or the American Revolution no attempt was made to seek support or find it in popular assemblies outside the constitution.

But the most important aspect of the Revolution was its practical character. While a King was expelled from the country, and a natural heir disowned, no attempt was made to find justification for the act on broad principles defining rights of man. The Bill of Rights—the one document in which most of the fruits of the Revolution were put together, is eminently a practical document. It makes provisions for the enforcement of particular rights or for averting specific wrongs.

Though it did not disturb the even current of English life, what had happened was truly revolutionary. Conceal it as one may, James had really been deposed and his son disinherited. No law or constitution could provide such a contingency. Naturally in England this was done by a Parliament that met without royal summons and therefore legally it was no Parliament at all. When it had made William and Mary King and Queen of England, the new monarchs of England assented to a bill recognising this Convention gathering a Parliament. This was a vicious circle. It is as necessary therefore to emphasize the revolutionary nature of the settlement made at his time as to draw attention to its practical character.

Bill of Rights. Originally drawn up by the Convention in 1688, it became law as the Act of Rights in William's first Parliament. It enumerates the illegal acts committed by James II and forbids their repetition. Thus

it declares dispensing and suspending power illegal. It prohibited the keeping of a standing army in times of peace without the consent of Parliament. It declared illegal the High Commission Court. It further forbade excessive punishments. The settlement of the crown on William and Mary and their heirs was also included in the Act. Thus a new dynasty was founded by Parliament. In exercise of this power in the Act of Settlement (1701) Princess Sophia of Hanover was invited to succeed Anne and all Roman Catholics were debarred from ruling England.

The Revelutionary settlement thus recorded the supremacy of Parliament in government. But in the revolution only the bare outline was sketched, details had to be filled in later on. This work was done under William and Mary. The danger of financial independence of the crown was now removed for ever by separating his civil list—personal expenses from the expenses of Government. Civil list was settled for life, expenses of Government were granted for a year only. This was accompanied by granting supplies for specific purposes and auditing the accounts after the money had been spent. This rendered annual Parliaments essential. But this was secured in another way. No standing army was to be kept in times of peace, according to the Declaration of Right, without Parliamentary sanction. It was found necessary to have a standing army and to provide for its discipline by a Militia Act. Now such was the fear in which a standing army was held that the Militia Act was passed for a year only. This again would render meeting of Parliament necessary. A Triennial Act passed in 1694 further saved England from the autocracy of a Parliament

elected in a time of panic. It was declared that Parliament could not last for more than three years. The Toleration Act of 1689 gave the dissenters legal relief as far as public worship was concerned, though it stopped short of establishing civic equality. Even the Roman Catholics were allowed to meet for public worship freely and almost openly. Another result of the Revolution was the liberty of the press. The Licensing Act of Charles II was not renewed in 1695 and thereby English press was freed from censorship. The Act of Settlement in 1701 besides establishing a Parliamentary dynasty in England rendered useful service to the cause of constitutional government by securing the independence of the judges. They could now be removed only on an address by both Houses of Parliament requesting the King to dismiss them. William tried to rule with the help and the co-operation of both parties in the state. But he discovered that this arrangement would not work and his attempt to appoint his ministers from one party only—mainly the Whigs—led to the foundation of cabinet Government.

Thus the Revolution secured parliamentary supremacy, freedom of the press, toleration for Protestants, independence of the judges and laid the foundation of the cabinet system of government in England.

Revolution in Scotland. England accepted William's rule gladly though the enthusiasm felt for William was shortlived. But in Scotland the Revolutionary settlement was challenged and William had, like Cromwell, to impose it there. Charles II had tried to restore episcopacy in Scotland, James had followed suit. William's appearance in England, however, liberated the Presbyterians. A

Convention Parliament was called to which even the Presbyterians were elected. This adopted the Whig creed and declared that James had forfeited his crown by his misgovernment. It passed an Act of Rights after the English model. Athough Presbyterianism was accepted as the state religion in Scotland William was able to secure toleration for Anglicans there. Scotch highlanders, however, harboured feudal spirits which could be roused to fury easily. Clan rivalry added fuel to the existing fire and there was a widespread rising in the Highlands. William was soon able to crush military opposition and it was declared that all those who would submit by December 31st, 1691, would be pardoned: Macdonald of Glencœ clan could not offer his formal submission before January 6th as he could not find a Magistrate. William permitted his Secretary for Scotland to use this technical blunder for extirpating the troublesome Macdonald clan. Had they been openly tried and condemned the action would have been intelligible though still unjust. But a group of soldiers of a rival clan was sent to Glencœ under cover of friendship, stayed with the Macdonalds for almost a fortnight and then murdered the whole family, men, women and children on the night of February 1, 1692. This cruel measure brought disgrace upon William and the widened gulf between England and Scotland.

Ireland. In Ireland William's rule was more effectively challenged. Here the majority of Roman Catholics provided an inflamable material which could be put to good use against a sovereign whose one justification was that he had saved England from Roman Catholicism. The trouble was further increased by the fact that James had been deliberately trying throughout his brief

reign to rouse Roman Catholic hopes in Ireland. Thus William's succession which passed off so bloodlessly in England could be imposed upon Ireland after a good deal of bloodshed. James' lieutenant Tyrconnell at once raised a great Catholic Army compelling the Protestants who chose to remain in Ireland to concentrate in Londonderry. James soon crossed over to Ireland. He had gone to France. Louis who wanted to use England in his struggle against his enemies on the continent was prepared to support James as a pawn in his great game. James besieged Londonderry which was relieved by the English ships after a trying siege of four months. A Roman Catholic Parliament now made Ireland independent and established a Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. Worst of all it condemned over two thousand persons as traitors. William was obliged to hurry to Ireland if he wanted to keep his English crown. The Battle of Boyne in 1690 however gave him a complete victory over the armies that James had brought together against him. James had to leave Ireland and seek refuge once again in France. But the Catholic opposition was not over yet. Louis sent more troops to Ireland in 1691 but they came rather too late to effect anything effective. The surrender, of Sarsfield's army at Limerick in October 1691 marked the end of the struggle. Catholicism and Irish nationalism had been fairly beaten but Sarsfield was able to secure that Irish soldiers he allowed to depart in peace to take service abroad if they wanted to. The pledge for toleration given to the Roman Catholics at the surrender was not however respected by the Irish Parliament dominated again by the Protestants. Thus William's rule in Ireland started with a broken pledge.

Ireland alas, knew no peace and still less toleration. All Roman Catholics were excluded from office. The Poying's Act was restored making Ireland a subordinate department of English Government. The Catholics were by the legislation passed from 1695 to 1697, disarmed and deprived of educational facilities. Irish clergymen and bishops were exiled. Social intercourse between Protestants and Roman Catholics was rendered difficult by prohibiting Protestant-Catholic marriage under heavy penalties. Worst of all the lands of all those Roman Catholics who had taken part on behalf of James II were confiscated to be sold by the English Government, in Cromwellian fashion, to pay for the cost of suppressing the rebellion.

William's Foreign Policy. The Revolution marked a remarkable change in the direction of English foreign policy. England had ceased to count in continental politics during the reign of Charles II and James II. Charles was Louis's pensioner and therefore incapable of pursuing an independent policy of his own. James was too busy in Romanizing England to take any share in the quarrels which were dividing the continent. But with the accession of William a change came in the English foreign policy. William had accepted the English crown primarily to use it as an instrument for checkmating Louis XIV of France. An Anglo-French struggle started now which lasted more than a century with brief intervals. England would not now or hereafter accept French claims to European supremacy.

Loius's ambition was insatiable. This grand monarch was not content with ruling France and French dominions alone. He had been trying to build up a great French

empire on the continent. In order to curb his desire a league had been formed on the continent under the leadership of William. In 1689 England joined the struggle against Louis mostly because Louis was trying to help James to regain his throne so that he might use England especially the English fleet in this struggle. The English were not at first interested in the war but when James appeared in Ireland threatening the Revolutionary settlement in England itself, they felt that there was some justication for the war. On the continent the struggle centred round Flemish towns. William had the Austrians, Savoyards, and the Spaniards as his allies in the continent. His success in Ireland at Boyne liberated William's armies for use on the protracted sieges in Belgium which formed the one salient feature of the war. William did not gain much reputation in this struggle except by his capture of Namur in 1695 and his continued resistence to Louis. It was like the later British struggle against Napoleon. To start with, the results were purely negative. The French possessed great military leaders, they had a larger population to draw upon, their army was well equipped. The advantage of the allies made itself felt on the seas. Here Holland and England, two maritime powers of long standing, were opposing the French navy which had been mostly built under Louis XIV. But even on the high seas the French victory at Beachy Head in 1690 boded no good for William or his allies. For a time it seemed as if the English crown would sit uneasily on William's head. Preparations for a French invasion of England were made. But the English victory in the battle of La Hague put an end to the French danger. In 1694 consternation was again caused in England by the destruction of the merchant

ships trading with the Near East. On the other hand English attempts to capture Toulon failed. In 1697 both sides thought it best to make peace. The treaty of Ryswick in 1697 put an end to the struggle. Loius was obliged to content himself with the annexation of Strassburg alone and had to restore all his conquests. He recognized William as the King of England, promised to accept the succession as settled by the Act of Rights. The Dutch were allowed to secure themselves by garrisoning their forts on the French frontiers. This was the first serious check Louis's ambition had received on the continent

William's Rule and the Act of Settlement. William had become the King of England mostly because he wanted to use her strength in his life long struggle against Louis XIV. The English had put him on the throne because there was no other way for them to avoid the tyranny of James II. One did not love the other. William could not be expected to give his confidence, so late in life, to Englishmen especially when he discovered that some of them were in secret correspondence with James. Moreover his heart was in his struggle with Loius mainly and he was not very much interested in questions nearer home. This created a great gulf between him and Englishmen. They did not like his frequent visits to the continent, and resented his sharing his counsels mainly with Dutchmen and as a natural result giving them many posts and prizes about his person. Some of them looked upon his war with Loius, though erroneously, as a struggle mainly in the Dutch interests. On the other hand William's temper was soured by the attempts made upon his life though the loyal support that he received on one of these occasions must have gratified him. Mary's death left him lonelier

than ever. The English attitude towards him was expressed in the Act of Settlement, 1701, rendered necessary by the death of Duke of Gloucseter, Mary's younger sister Anne's last living son. It regulated the succession settling it on Sophia Electress of Hanover. She was grand-daughter of James I and was the nearest Protestant heir to the throne. It was decided that the English kings must be members of the Church of England and should not, on the pain of being deprived of the throne, marry a Roman Catholic. We have already seen how this Act secured the independence of the judges. Some of its provisions reflect the prevailing distrust of William. It was declared that no future king of England should plunge her into a war on behalf of his foreign dominions without the consent of Parliament. He was not to leave England without Parliamentary consent. This provision was repealed in the reign of George I. Further foreigners were not allowed either to sit in Parliament, become member of the Privy Council, own land or hold any office of profit under the crown. It was moreover decided that pardon by the king would not save an offender from impeachment.

There were certain clauses of the Act which, though correctly represented Parliamentry feeling at that time, would have rendered Parliamentary control of the government impossible. William had at first tried to select his ministers from both the parties. Whigs and Tories were alike chosen to help him. But he soon discovered that their mutual bickerings would not admit of harmonious work. Besides high churchmen had refused to take the oath recognising William as the head of the church. These non-jurors created a feeling of untrust-

worthiness towards the Tory ministers William had under him. He began dismissing the Tory ministers and by 1696 all his ministers were Whig. Now all the work of government could not be done in the Privy Council. It required despatch and secrecy. William had therefore started the practice of consulting only a smaller number among these ministers. This smaller body came to be known as the Whig Junta. Naturally those ministers who were left out resented it. Parliament also disliked the new arrangements because they savoured of secrecy.

Three clauses in the Act of Settlement dealt with this supposed evil. In the first place it was decided that all the work of government should be carried on in the Privy Council, recorded, and signed by the members present. This was an attack on the rise of the Cabinet. There was another evil which the Act of Settlement tried to check. It was felt that the presence of King's ministers in Parliament gave them an opportunity of influencing opinion in the House of Commons. Since Danby's days ministers had been trying to keep the House well disposed towards government by bribing the members in different ways. In order to safeguard the honesty and independence of the House it was decided in the Act of Settlement that no minister, place-man or pensioner of the Crown was to sit in Parliament. Necessary though these clauses appeared to the contemporaries they would have rendered modern development of cabinet government impossible. Thus the first provision was repealed in 1705 making possible the rise of a group of ministers inside the the Privy Council. The secrecy that it was allowed made it stronger against the crown. When the English monarchs ceased to attend its meetings and its decisions alone were reported to

them, secrecy of proceedings prevented royal pressure on individual ministers. The provision excluding ministers from Parliament was first repealed and then re-enacted in a modified form in 1707. It provided that the ministers should resign their seats in the House and seek re-election thus giving their electors a chance of deciding whether or no they approved of their becoming King's ministers.

William had accepted the limitations imposed on him by the Revolutionary settlement but he still possessed many more powers than the present English monarchs. The cabinet system that was to divest the King of his powers was yet to come. He was very much like a President of the United States of America—his ministers were his advisers rather than responsible officers in charge of different departments. When he differed from his Parliament, he told them so and vetoed bills passed by them four times. His Parliament could express their opnion on his policy after he had embarked on it, but he was bound to consult them on every question. Foreign affairs he particularly kept under his own control.

When the seventeenth century opened, English finances were managed in the mediæval fashion. King's income was mostly derived from his lands, feudal dues, and import and export duties. Besides, on extraordinary occasions Parliament would vote extraordinary direct taxes on property called subsidies. These were collected on a scale that had become antiquated and useless by this time. During the Commonwealth certain changes were introduced which were made permanent at the Restoration. Excise taxes on certain home grown materials were levied, particularly on beer and ale, and at the Restoration they took the place of feudal dues. Hearth Tax had been

introduced by the Restoration Parliament in 1662. In 1689 it was remitted and its place was taken by a window tax. In 1690 a land tax granted from year to year was substituted for the old subsidies and remained in force till 1798. Stamp duties on registration of deeds and on instituting cases in courts were introduced in 1694 and became a normal feature of the taxation. For some years since 1625 births, marriages, funerals, widows and bachelors were taxed.

The study of the export and import duties in the seventeenth century reveals certain tendencies. In Parliament and local administration the landlords were supreme. It was natural that the landlords should use their position of advantage in their own interest. Till 1650 the government tried to protect the consumer by allowing export only when the harvest was more than plentiful. This was done by fixing a minimum price which protected, though slightly, the interest of the farmers as well. If prices sank below the minimum export was allowed. In the second half of the century however corn from abroad began to be imported. It was now felt necessary to adopt other methods for encouraging corn growing. By 1670 all restrictions on the export of corn were removed, in 1674 a bounty was given on the export of corn and in 1689 it became a permanent part of English policy. Along with this grant to exporters of corn, an import duty was also levied on foreign corn so that cheap foreign corn might not make English farming unprofitable. These 'corn laws' were to continue throughout the century in the interest of farmers and landlords. Corn growing was encouraged in the attempt to make the country self-supporting in its food supplies.

Trade and Industry. One great feature of the seventeenth century trade is the rise of companies for trade with far off countries. Each one of these companies was given the exclusive right to trade with a particular country. It was the only way in which trade with some of the places now opened up could have been carried on in those days. Diplomatic relations with far off countries were not then as much developed as now and it was felt that by delegating trade to close corporations alone could a guarantee of good behaviour be given to states with which the British were now beginning trade relations On the other hand investigation into the complaints of the traders was easier if they were organized in a company. Thus from time to time charters were granted to companies. East India Company had been granted a charter by Elizabeth but its operations really began under James I. Merchant Adventurers' privileges—exclusive trade in textile goods dated earlier. The Muscovy Company had been trading with Russia for some time, the Levant Company's trade with the Mediterranean was being carried on under difficulties. The Eastland Company was trading with the Baltic ports. The African Company had started by organizing slave trade but was later on used for selling English textiles. James I and Charles I tried to open up some new countries to English trade but their efforts were not successful. Under Cromwell the only gain was that compensation was exacted for the Massacre of Amboyna from the Dutch. The marriage of Charles II with a Portuguese princess opened some of the Portuguese market to the English. This was followed by commercial treaties with Denmark, France and the Dutch. The Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 turned the English

colonies into an exclusive market for English goods. In 1670 the Hudson Bay Company was formed in order to trade in fur and it remained in existence till 1869. Its prosperity even in the teeth of the French opposition was phenomenal. The East India Company's charter was renewed in 1693. However the monopoly of the Company had caused resentment and the grant of the charter was followed by the establishment of another General East India Company under an act of Parliament. This caused a good deal of trouble and confusion till in 1708 both the companies were merged in a United Company. The Revolution started a tendency towards destroying the monopoly of trade of the distant countries. Their exclusive rights began to be modified. In the general regulation of trade and commerce after the Revolution the trade to such countries alone should be encouraged as imported large amounts of English goods. Foreign imports were looked upon as something evil and attempts were made to curtail them as much as possible especially when foreign imports threatened competition with English industries. The Stuart Kings had tried to enforce this policy to some extent but after the Revolution its carrying out passed into the hands of Parliament. This altitude towords foreign trade had been first systematized by the French minister Colbert under Louis XIV and its introduction in England after 1689 has been aptly called Parliamentary Colbertism.

The Bank of England. Probably the most important event in the economic sphere was the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694. A company with £1,200,00 capital was formed. This was lent to the

government which undertook to pay £100,000 as annual interest. The Company thereupon began to issue paper money which it undertook to redeem in gold at demand. It also did banking business of all descriptions. With it began the system of the English National Debt. So far the Kings of England had been borrowing money from different sources without always undertaking to pay either the interest or the capital. With the establishment of the bank it was the state that borrowed money from the bank on its own security. It was understood that the interest alone would be paid. One great result of the establishment of the Bank of England was that it attached the rich classes to the Revolutionary government. It was felt that if the Stuarts came back, they would not honour the engagements entered into by William. Thus the commercial classes who were interested in the Bank of England supported the new dynasty.

Another financial measure carried successfully by the government was the recoining of money in 1696 under Sir Isac Newton, the great mathematician. All the old coins were called in and in their place new coins were issued with milled edges. These could not be easily clipped without fear of detection. The new coinage put the trade and commerce of the country on a stable base.

CHAPTER XXVIII

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

As far as colonial development was concerned, the sixteenth century was an age of preparation. The English navy received its baptism of fire in its encounter with the Spanish Armada, the English sea-dogs promoted the spirit of adventure among the English, earlier navigations and the example of the Spaniards showed what could be done in this direction. The foundation of the English colonial empire, however, were laid in the seventeenth century.

Early colonial development differed from modern colonial enterprise in one very significant way. Modern colonies are founded by surplus population anxious for a place under the sun. In England in the seventeenth century there was no excess of population. Most of the colonies of the period owed their existence to religious feelings. As we have already seen neither the seventeenth century statesmen, nor with a few exceptions, religious leaders were prepared to admit that God could be properly and safely worshipped in any other but their own way. Toleration was unknown and even William had to force it upon his Parliaments. There was not much to choose in this between Roman Catholics and Protestants, Anglicans and Presbyterians. Thus when James I rejected the scheme of keeping varying shades of Protestant opinion within the Church of England, he

released a great dynamic force that was to be the main strength of the colonial movement. The Puritans led the way. Sure of no place in England where their method of worship, their expression of religious opinion and their religious organization lay under grave penalties they left England for Holland. But even Holland did not prove the haven of refuge they had expected it to be, they wanted to lead an independent religious and social life of their own. In 1620 they came back to England and as the Pilgrim Fathers left the shores of England at Plymouth. When the 'Mayflower' reached America, the colony of Plymouth was founded on the coast. More immigrants followed later on. The Pilgrim Fathers had borrowed money for their venture in London but were soon able to pay it back. The personal government of Charles in 1621 set in the next wave of immigrants. The colony of Massachusets was first to be formed in 1629. These colonists had managed, knowingly or unknowingly, so to arrange matters that they were able to avoid having a Company located in England and thus their charter established a group of settlers independent of any outside control. Another colony was formed at Main in 1639. After many years of independent existence, Main was absorbed by Massachusets in 1653 and it was further enlarged by the addition of Plymouth in 1691. Meanwhile New Hampshire had been colonized in 1622. After a chequered career it finally became an independent colony in 1691. Another colony that owed its existence to religious fervour was similarly founded in Connecticut in 1633 and New Haven was colonized in 1638. These two colonies were united in 1662 as Connecticut. Colonization of Rhode Island in 1631 was due to dissent from the prevailing Puritan thought in Massac-

chusets. In these colonies religious communities had been established among people who agreed on the most fundamental issue in life, religion. The colonization of Maryland in 1634, though due to religious fervour was interesting as providing an experiment in toleration. It was mainly intended for Roman Catholics at first, but it was given out that it would welcome all types of religious opinion within the Christian fold. Here all sects among Christians, were tolerated and it is interesting to note that this 'dangerous' experiment proved after all successful.

Another colony that owed its origin to religious zeal, Pennsylvania was not founded till 1693. It was established in the territory that had once been a part of the Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam which was conquered from the Dutch in 1667 in the Second Dutch War. Here William Penn, the Quaker brought at first a group of his co-religionists. Charles II owed his father some money and William Penr chose this method of liquidating the debt. Penn believed in religious toleration on principle. He held it to be a natural right of man that he should call his conscience his own. Naturally in Pennsylvania religious toleration was established as a rule.

The second group of colonies—the colonies of exploitation date from 1606 when Virginia was first colonized. A band of venturesome persons got together to undertake the difficult task of settling on a far off land mainly in the hope that their fortunes would be bettered thereby. If the six religious colonies appealed to the more serious minded, in Virginia the population was mainly drawn at first from quite a different stock. The original

settlers were hardy enough. But in order to maintain their strength convicts, paupers, and the unemployed were from time to time sent there. Bermuda was colonized similarly in 1612. The first settlement in Carolinas took place in 1663. Here religious toleration mixed with the hopes of material gains played its part in founding and developing the two colonies. Bahama Island followed suit in 1670, whereas the Hudson Bay, colonized under Prince Rupert for the purpose of capturing fur trade with the Indians, though last in the field, became in time the most important of the group.

The third group of colonies represented by New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania was formed as the result of the Anglo-Dutch struggles. About the time the English started colonizing North America, the French, the Dutch, and the Swedes also established similar colonies. The Swedish colony was soon conquered by the Dutch. Their colony of New Amsterdam stood as a wedge between the New England colonies and Virginia. The Dutch were very enterprising sailors. Yet by the middle of the sixteenth century they discovered that they had bitten off more than they could chew. Their never-ending struggle against France was consuming a large part of their energies. Their main interest in colonial enterprise was centered round the Dutch East Indies. Naturally when in the Second Dutch War, the honours of victory were almost equally shared between the English and the Dutch, the Dutch made a very good bargain by exchanging Pulroon in the Spice Islands for New Amesterdam. The cessation of New Amsterdam, which became New York thereafter

meant the permanent disappearance of the Dutch colonizing activity in North America. It meant one rival less in the field. More than that it made the English colonies stretch in a continuous line on the North American coast.

Thus by the end of the seventeenth century twelve out of the thirteen colonies which constituted in the eighteenth century the United States of America had been formed. Of these Massachusets, Connecticut. Rhode Island, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, owed their foundation directly to religion. New Hampshire though founded for purposes of exploitation remained for some time during this period a part of Massachusets and it was not till 1691 that it was finally separated to form an independent colony. New Jersey and Delaware though founded for purposes of profit got most of their population by appealing to their policy of religious toleration. Thus eight colonies were, directly and indirectly, indebted to religious dissent in England for their settlement. Virginia and Carolinas were formed for the purpose of exploiting the natural resources of the virgin American soil. New York was conquered from the Dutch.

These American colonies were governed mostly on a representative basis. By the end of our period most of these colonies had governors nominated by the Crown. Virginia, New Ycrk, New Jersey, New Hampshire and South and North Carolinas, Hudson Bay, Pennsylvania Delaware, Maryland had started as proprietary colonies. These lands had been granted to individuals or groups of individuals who made arrangements for their settlements and had an interest in the colonies. Virginia, however, was resumed by the Crown in

1624, New York became royal on the accession of James, Duke of York to the English throne in 1685. New Hampshire was finally separated from Massahusets and converted into a royal colony in 1691. In these colonies the governors were nominated by the Crown and the proprietors. There was a council to assist the governor usually nominated by him from among the local colonists since 1619. When the first representative assembly met in Virginia, most of the colonies had assemblies elected by the freemen or in purely religious colonies by the churchmen. By the end of the century however the franchise even in the religious colonies had been widened and made democratic. Massachusets, Rhode Island and Connecticut were granted to the settlers and had no proprietary interests to consider. Till 1691 Massachusets elected its own governor but it was obliged to accept a royal governor at that time. In these three colonies the councils and the assemblies were both elected by the freemen. Thus from the very beginning self-government prevailed in the English colonies in America. Unlike the Spaniard or the French the English made no attempt to govern their colonial acquisitions despotically though James II made an attempt to centralize administration. But even before his experiment was put into practice the Revolutionary government put an end to it and the colonies reverted to their self-governing institutions.

The early settlers in North America had to face many difficulties. Forests had to be cleared and plantations begun in the face of hostile Indian tribes. They became peculiarly liable to certain diseases. Shortage of food supplies had to be faced. Their worst enemy

probably was the fact that the ships that carried them to their new homes were often insanitary and large number of emigrants died on the seas. It is not to be wondered then that as the English became engaged in the slave trade in Africa, slaves should also be brought to North America to supply labour for the settlers. Indentured labourers were also brought from time to time. When religious toleration was granted in certain colonies, a large number of religious refugees from all over Europe began to pour in. Thus the colonies came early to have heterogeneous elements introduced in them. They could ordinarily be divided into two groups, the aristocratic colonies of the south including Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina and South Carolina, depended on slave labour mostly and grew tobacco which they exported to the continent. The Northern colonies usually depended on white labour and were busy in agriculture, ship-building and cutting of timber.

The English attitude towards these colonies was more generous than of any other European nation at that time. In the seventeenth century Mercantilist ideas prevailed in the matter of international trade as well as colonial policy. This meant that the colonies were regarded as a potential source of wealth for the mother country. Spain, France, Holland and Portugal were all treating their colonies as places which the mother country was to utilize for her own profit. The English followed suit but in the practical working of the system they did better than their rivals. It is curious, as Seely was the first to point out, that the English tried to combine self-government with economic dependence. But still more curious was the fact that Englishmen leaving English shores as a protest against

the policy of their own government should consent to become the instruments of the extension of the same government's territories. Anyway Englishmen who settled in North America did so on the clear understanding that they were extending the boundaries of the mother country and taking the English flag with them. The first serious attempt to use the colonies for the benefit of the mother country was made by the Navigation Laws of the Protectorate necessitated by the English rivalry with the Dutch. These were followed by the Navigation Acts of the Restoration. The net result of this legislation was that the colonies could not import any article except through England. All articles of import must first be brought to England and from there sent out to the colonies. This did not always mean that the colonists got these things at a higher price. A system of rebate gave them some relief and it did sometimes happen that certain articles were cheaper in the colonies than in the mother country. As the colonial trade grew this restriction was bound to be felt irksome and as such resented. In the matter of export, a comprehensive list of enumerated articles was prepared, which could be sent only to England. Naturally this inflicted a hardship on the colonists but it compared favourably with the policy of the rival powers that had prohibited export trade completely. The third restriction was on the carrying trade. All the exports and imports of the colonies were to be carried in English or colonial ships. This was a sort of imperial preference rather than a hardship though in time to come when competitive rates were to make some foreign lines cheaper, it was bound to develop into a grievance. The last grievance was the worst. In most colonies such industries as could compete with the home manufacture were suppressed and the English had

followed their continental neighbours in this. As yet this had not meant much hardship. England needed the raw products of the colonies which were as yet struggling for existence though some attempts at manufacture were being made in some of the colonies. But in the eighteenth century this was to become the crying grievance of the colonists and was to prove a fruitful source of irritation. In return for all this, importation of foreign goods in which the colonies could deal was prohibited into England.

Besides the English colonies in North America, the English were also busy colonising the West Indies. As in America they were here one of the merry colonizing power. The Islands of St. Christopher, Barbados and Providence were colonized during the century. The African Company on the west coast of Africa began trading in slaves and bartering English cloth for African gold.

The most precious acquisition of the British in this period came not from colonizing activity but from the urge for commercial markets. We have seen already how the East India Company was formed for trade with India, how the British got the right to trade with the country in spite of the Portuguese opposition. By the end of this century the British had established their factories—trading stations at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Broach, Masulipatam, Nizampatam, Patna, Madras, Kasim Bazar, Hughli, Balasore, Rajmahal and Malda, Bombay, Dacca, St. David Vizagapatam. All these factories were under the general control of a Commissioner at Bombay. These factories were divided into three presidencies, Bombay, Madras and Bengal. The English had by this time acquired the right from the successive Mughal emperors and their local representative to trade in different parts of India free of duty

or on payment of a composition fee. This freedom of trade was confined however to export and import trade of the Company.

In India the English had to face many rivals. The Portuguese were the first in the field and had acquired considerable influence. Hawkins and Roe the two earliest English agents to the court of Jahangir had to contend with the Portuguese before Emperor allowed the English to settle at Surat. Besides the Portuguese the English had to face the Dutch and the French opposition as well. The outbreak of war between the English and the French and the English and the Dutch in Europe had led to hostilities in India. The English were well able to take care of their interests and despite occasional set-backs were able considerably to advance their trade. There was, however, more frequent opposition from the local rulers. In 1686 however a much more serious quarrel overtook them. Friction between the Mughal governor of Bengal and English agents there led to a useless war of reprisals. The English rather rashly decided to use force instead of peaceful negotiations for the settlement of their quarrel. A rash attempt was made to capture Chittagong which failed. However the authorities in Bombay were able to intercede and the war was brought to an end when the British returned to Bengal in 1691. The Emperor now allowed them to carry on their trade at a cash payment of Rs. 3,000 annually. The English trade with India was mostly carried in saltpetre, cotton cloth, silk, sugar, cotton yarn, silk goods, printed calicoes, tea and coffee. Not unnaturally the woollen and silk manufacturers and calico printers in England protested against the importation of silks, printed and dyed calicoes. The

agitation resulted in 1700 in an Act which forbade the use of these articles in England though they could still be imported into England for re-export. About the beginning of the seventeenth century the total volume of the East Indian trade was about half a million pounds sterling worth of goods imported into England while English exports to the East stood at about £ 200,000.

In view of the later success of the Company it is well to remember that in the seventeenth century the English Company represented one of the several groups of foreign traders trading with India. Like Indian merchants they had their places of business which they sometimes held on lease and sometimes had bought outright from the local chiefs. To keep law and order among themselves, the Company had been authorized to hold civil and criminal courts as well as try military offenders by martial law. Its charters further authorized it to ley war upon Indian princes when necessary. The Company however usually chose to make trade its chief concern. It neither meddled with religious questions nor it had any territorial ambitions. Its one incursion into warfare with the Imperial Government in India did not prove successful. Roe had warned it against the Portuguese folly of making the living pay for the dead. It wanted to be left alone to make it profitable for its shareholders to carry on trade with India.

The constitutional conflicts of the seventeenth century several times affected the fortunes of the Company. Its share of trade with the Spice islands was brought to an end by the Dutch massacre of Amboyna which remained unavenged till the first Dutch War of Cromwell. A compensation was paid to the heirs of the sufferers and the British were given Pulroon which was restored to the

Dutch in exchange for New York in the second Dutch War. The Revolutionary settlement put life into the quarrel between the King and Parliament as to who was competent enough to issue a charter. Finally a new Company was allowed to be formed in 1698 which undertook to raise £ 2,000,000 for the Government at 8 per cent. This increased the difficulties of the East India Company which was thus given notice that its trading operations would cease in 1701. How the two companies joined together to safeguard the English trade in America belongs to the story of the next century.

Thus despite constiutional struggle at home great strides had been made by England in founding a great colonial empire. The first British empire had been founded, but it had to pass through a crisis in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XXIX.

UNION WITH SCOTLAND

William III's time was mostly spent in his schemes for defeating the ambitions of Louis XIV. Besides fighting the war of English succession which opened up another hundred years' struggle with France, he was busy towards the end of his reign in maturing plans for another war with France, the War of the Spanish succession. This war was destined to be opened in his successor's time and under Marlborough England won for herself a position of military supremacy which revived the memory of her earlier successes in the Hundred Years' War. This and her subsequent struggles with France we shall study in another chapter.

Whigs *vs.* **Tories.** When in 1702 William died, Anne, James II's daughter succeeded him. Her reign saw the Whig and the Tory parties fighting in full dress over questions of domestic politics as well as of foreign policy. The Whig stood for toleration in religion and would have liked the abolitian of civic disabilities if religious differences were not held to be an offence. They uphled, of course, the principle of limited monarchy which the Revolution had brought into the forefront. In Locke's Treatise on Civil Government, published a year after the Revolution though written many years earlier, a philosophic basis for their position had been provided. Locke based his theory of government on a supposed contract between the people and their rulers, which was to ensure

their happiness. This theory of the contractual nature of the government had only been reflected in the resolution of the Convention offering the English throne to William and Mary, but the Resolution of the Scotch Parliament on the question was directly based on this principle. The Whigs derived their strength from the new rich, the trading and manufacturing class and naturally they were more disposed to study different questions of domestic policy from their own standpoint. As opposed to this the Tories stood for church uniformity. They wanted to go back on the Toleration Act and bring into force the Clarendon Code once again. This was not simply because they were convinced of the 'entire truth' lying with them alone in the matter of religion. They wanted to keep out the Whigs from participation in government and this religious stick was good enough for beating them. They stood for the church and the king. The church still treated the king as the Lord's anointed and therefore preached—despite the part it had played in bringing about the Revolution—that howsoever bad a king might be he must be obeyed. This doctrine of passive obedience was sharply in conflict with the Whig doctrine of limited monarchy. Further it was the cause of making the Tory supporters of the Revo- ution look rather ridiculous and their professions of loyalty to the throne of Anne rather suspicious. It was, in its extreme form, to give birth to Jacobites—supporters of the claim of the son of James II to the throne of England during the reign of George I and II. But at present the Tories no less than the Whigs, supported the cause of Anne who was herself a Stuart. The Tories were interested in agriculture and they looked askance at the increasing part the 'new rich' were playing in the

government of the country and consequently they distrusted their methods.

This conflict of Tories and Whigs was to colour the reign of Anne. But she was a woman and her personal likes and dislikes played as important part in deciding the fate of ministries as the national course of events. The Duke of Marlborough who had been appointed Commander-in-chief of the English armies in Holland by William III was a skilful general. Born in 1650, he entered the army in the reign of Charles II. On the accession of James II, he played a prominent part in defeating the rising under the Duke of Monmouth. When James II entered upon the path that was to end in his expulsion, he opened up correspondence with William. On William's arrival in England he assured James of his loyalty and then quietly deserted him. Under the lead of the Archbishop of Canterbury he supported the proposal to declare James II mad and to appoint a regency. William however gave him a place on his Privy Council. He now entered into correspondence with James II and was expected to go over to the French side with his troops when William had taken him over to the continent. His double dealings resulted in his dismissal in 1692. Mary's death now opened up new hopes for him. His wife and princess Anne who was to succeed William were on excellent terms and Marlborough was now prepared to bide his time. In 1701 he was reconciled to William who appointed him the Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in Holland.

The friendship between his wife and the new queen helped him a great deal under Anne. He became Commm-der-in-Chief of the English and the Dutch forces on the

continent and from 1702 to 1710 his was the decisive voice in English politics. The Tory majority in the House of Commons and the quarrels of the Dutch and the queen at last ousted him from power. The Tories were now in power under Harley and Bolingbroke. For four years the Tories remained supreme but the dissentions among them on the question of the Hanoverian succession admitted some Whigs to office in 1714 as the queen lay dying. It was Whig Lord Shrewsbury who was destined to proclaim George I.

Even under Marlborough the ministries were never homogeneously made up. The principle of party government had not yet been adopted in its entirety and from 1702 to 1710 the ministries were rather united in their endeavours to support Marlborough in his prosecution of the war than on anything else. The ministry from 1710 to 1714 was Tory and could therefore be called a party administration. But the queen still presided at the meetings of her ministers and it was not before the Hanoverians came to the throne that Cabinet government began.

During these twelve years the country was divided on the question of the position of the dissenters. The test acts making it obligatory on them to take the Sacrament according to the Anglican rites had not been repealed. Many dissenters however managed to avoid exclusion from municipal and government offices by occasionally receiving the sacrament as prescribed. The Tories felt that this defeated the intentions of the Act. They would have been glad to see toleration withdrawn, but they were in no case prepared to allow its extension. Strenuous efforts were made by Tories in the Parliament of 1702–1705 when they formed the majority in the House—for

stopping this practice and thus excluding the Whigs from government. An occasional Conformity Bill was passed in the Commons in 1703, but the Whig majority in the Lords was not disposed to accept it and it was defeated there. In 1711 when the Tories had a larger majority in the Commons and the Government was entirely Tory the bill became law and this concession to the dissenters was withdrawn. But the worst proof of this spirit of intolerance appeared in the Schism Act of 1714 when a Tory Government did its worst in reviving the Clarendon Code. By this Act Non-Conformist teachers were prohibited from teaching even the Non-Conformist students. It was a severe and unjust blow to the Dissenters, all the more unjust when it was extended to Ireland to make all Roman Catholic education impossible. These measures, however, were shortlived. Under George I both Acts were repealed.

The Tories did not possess the monopoly of this spirit of intolerance. Whigs were as bad. When in 1709 a high churchman, named Dr. Sachevrel, preached a sermon emphasizing the doctrine of passive odedience to the monarch and attacked the Revolution of 1689, they were frightened into prosecuting him. No doubt he preached a dangerous doctrine. If popular it could have been used for upsetting the Hanoverian succession. But prosecutions do not strangle expression of opinion. Sachevrel was declared technically guilty and fordidden preaching for three years. Worse than this virtual acquittal was the frensied popular enthusiasm which this persecution of an insignificant high churchman, aroused on his behalf. The lack of popular support to the Whigs led to their undoing and they were dismissed from office shortly after.

The Union of England and Scotland. The most

far-reaching event of the reign in the realm of domestic policy was the union of England and Scotland. In 1603 Scotland had provided England with a King. James I tried to unite the two countries but he failed. The Scotch policy of Charles I brought upon his head the civil war. The Commonwealth tried to unite England and Scotland and the Parliaments that met during the Commonwealth had Scotch members as well. But the Cromwellian attempt to unite the three countries was considered to be revolutionary and at the Restoration the Parliaments of England and Scotland once again drifted apart. Charles II tried to make the Scots swallow espiscopacy and persecuted the Presbyterian Covenanters who had been partly responsible for the difficulties of Charles I. Further the Navigation Act of 1660 made the Scots foreigners. At the Revolution of 1689 the Scotch problem was partially solved when William established Presbyterianism as the state religion in Scotland.

But there were other difficulties. England and Scotland were both governed by the same king, yet the Scots were considered foreigners, they could not benefit by the impetus provided to English trade by the Navigation Acts. As the English prospered Scotch resentment increased. Shut off from the trade of the English colonies, the Scotch at last tried to find out new openings for themselves. A company was formed with the bold project of reaching the East by crossing the Isthmus of Darien. Cargoes were to be transhipped on pack-muies from the Atlantic ports to those on the Pacific shore. This scheme anticipated the Panama Canal of modern times and, if successful, would have greatly helped trade and commerce with the East. But the lack of exact knowledge hindered the project. The

cost of the road across the Isthmus was prohibitive. The climate was malarial. Worst still the settlement had to be made on Spanish territory. Thus this bold project failed in 1699 and involved a large number of Scotchmen in its failure. The failure of this solitary Scotch venture was adversely commented upon in Scotland and it was represented that the enterprise had failed mainly because of the lack of English support. This resentment was further increased by the success of the English in so many commercial ventures and their resultant prosperity. The rising in the Highlands in favour of James II and the Massacre of Glencoe further embittered feelings. All this found expression in the Scotch Act of Security, 1704, by which it was decided that the Scots would not recognize the Hanoverian successor of Anne unless they were admitted to the privileges of English trade. The Queen had assented to this bill on account of the critical position of the war on the continent, but Marlborough's success at Blenheim created a revulsion of feeling. A war of reprisals followed between England and Scotland and at one time it seemed as if the two might drift into war. Good sense however prevailed in the end. Commissioners were appointed by the Scotch and English Parliaments to discuss the question of union between the two kingdoms. Their labours resulted in a treaty which became the Act of Union between England and Scotland in 1707 after having been passed in both the Scotch and the English Parliaments.

The Act of Union created the United Kingdom of Great Britain in place of England and Scotland. The United Kingdom was to have one Parliament, one army, and the same sovereign. The Act of Settlement was now accepted

by the Scots as far as the question of Anne's successor was concerned and thus the main cause of contention was removed. The Parliament of the United Kingdom was to contain 45 Scotch Commoners and 16 Peers elected for each Parliament by the Scotch Lords which was 9% of that of the United Kingdom. This number was determined on the basis of Scotch population. The flag of the United Kingdom was to unite the existing English and Scotch flags. Scots were now admitted to all the privileges of English trade as equal citizens of the new United Kingdom. £ 398,000 were to be spent by the English Parliament for various purposes so as to promote Scotch trade and industry as also to compensate the shareholders of the Darien Company. Scotland, however, was to retain her own private law, her own courts and her own religion. There was to be no interference in these branches of her life.

The proposals for the union had not been passed without opposition in Scotland. It was felt that by the union Scotland would become as a mere appendage to England and would cease to be an independent country. The Presbyterians feared for their religion. Would not the Union be used for the purpose of imposing episcopacy on Scotland as had happened so many times before? The Highland chiefs and Scotch nobles were afraid of the interference that the English might attempt in their feudal privileges. The momentary hopes of the Jacobites who had hoped to reap the fruits of friction between England and Scotland were dashed to the ground.

But the union has proved more successful even than its authors could have hoped for it. It closed an embittered and complicated chapter in the history and relations of the two

nations. It removed the danger from the north that England had had to face so frequently at critical periods in her history and secured her from hostility. The freedom of trade granted ultimately led to prosperity in Scotland. "It consummated the Revolutionary Settlement in the two countries." Fears about Presbyterianism have so far proved groundless. The fact that the Scotch Presbyterianism had their counterpart in the English dissenters soon brought the races on both sides of the Clyde together. A fusion took place such as made possible the yoking of Scotch intellect in the service of the United Kingdom. The Scots have had seldom to see the day when they entered into partnership with England, nor has England ever regretted the step which made the two nations on both sides of the Clyde one. It is possible that had the two been allowed to drift apart, the result of the Anglo-French struggle of the eighteenth century might have been different. The statesmen of Queen Anne's day had built well and truly.

CHAPTER XXX

THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION AND THE GROWTH OF THE CABINET SYSTEM

Anne's Death. The Tory ministers who held sway in the last years of Queen Anne (1710—1714) were divided on the question of her successors. The moderate Tories were almost reconciled to the succession as settled in the Act of Settlement. But there were others like Bolingbroke who would have welcomed the restoration of 'James III,' son of James II to the throne. But he would not give up his Roman Catholicism and therefore it was coming to be realized that his restoration to the English throne might be an impossibility. Nothing daunted, Bolingbroke continued his policy of filling up the Government, civil and military services and local magistracies with extreme Tories. He had, however, to contend against dissensions in his own party and just as he seemed to overcome this difficulty by dismissing Oxford, a moderate Tory, the Queen died.

Hanoverian Succession. It says much for the success of the Revolutionary settlement that scarcely a hand was raised in support of the Jacobite claim for the throne. The unchallenged accession of George I had important constitutional results. The divine right of kings now came to an end, because as the pretender put it, there were fifty-seven claimants with a better title to the throne. George I could base his right to the throne on nothing more sublime than an Act of Parliament. If

the monarchy did not become elective, it ceased to be divinely appointed. Naturally the supremacy of Parliament was now accepted on all sides, Anne had presided over the meetings of her Cabinet, she had even attended important debates in Parliament. She had exercised the royal right to dissent from the decisions of her Parliaments and vetoed a bill passed by one of her Parliaments. Ministries had further depended upon her caprice. Whigs and Tories alike had sought supporters amongst her favourites. Of course she had not exercised much initiative in directing English policy at home or abroad. But with the accession of the House of Hanover the English constitutional experiment entered another principal phase. George I knew no English, none of his ministers knew German. He had changed his petty German throne for the eminence of an English Crown to discover the nature of many galling restrictions surrounding it. He seldom took any interest in domestic politics in England, though like Willlam III, he chose to be his own foreign minister. Even here he could not exclude Parliament for prying into these affairs. He ceased attending the meetings of the Cabinet and hence the ministers came to rely less upon the monarch in their policy and more upon Parliament. Further at his accession the Tories were not free from a taint of disloyalty. The highest placed men among them had been trying to exclude George I or to connive at attempts that were being made in that direction. Naturally he dared not trust them with the reins of government. The Whig rule that lasted half a century, whether aristocratic or oligarchic, corrupt or honest, riveted parliamentary chains on the English monarchy and thus performed a lasting service to the country. Party gov-

ernment flourished, the office of the prime minister came into being. Further it provided a welcome relief by allowing religious dissent in England as well as establishing the church of the majority as the national church in Scotland.

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. The Jacobites however were biding their time. The leading Tories had vague hopes that they might some day welcome the Pretender. Some of them had entered into questionable relations with him. When George I became king they hoped that like William III he would not have the courage to break with them entirely. But George was more assertive, as one by one he dismissed all the Tories from his Cabinet. Not content with this, proceedings were started against Bolingbroke and Oxford for treason. Certain other measures of the government drove some of the waverers to the Jacobite side. It was now decided to carry out the plan which had been formulated for an earlier period. In Scotland the immediate results of the Union were nct favourable and some resentment was felt thereat. The Scotch were tickled at the idea that they would at last have a Scotch king in Scotland. The Jacobites had been further led to believe that Louis XIV would help them but he died before the attempt could be made and the regent for his successor would not lift his finger on the Pretender's behalf. George I moreover hardly made any friends and except that the Pretender was Roman Catholic he seemed to be a better man in everyway. Thus an attempt at a simultaneous rising in Scotland and Ireland was organized, which was to be helped by the presence of the Pretender himself. The Earl of Mar put himself at the head of his clan in the Highlands and captured Perth.

There he waited while George's representative Argyle gathered his forces together. Mar was defeated at Sheriffmuir. When the Pretender landed at last he found little to charm him and had soon to retire before Argyll. Meanwhile risings had been attempted in the Scotch Lowlands and certain parts of England as well. The rebels were able to march on to Lancashire where they were defeated at Preston where many of them surrendered. Disillusioned the Pretender had now to leave for France. Instead of a French King friendly to his cause he had to face all sorts of obstacles from the French Government. Where he had hoped to find a nation only too willing to welcome him he found the English sullenly loyal to their new king. Mismanagement and bad tactics did the rest. The Whig government was however sensible in its measures for pacifying the highlands. About a score of these implicated in the risings were hanged, and as many followers suffered execution.

But the Fifteen had led to another measure that was to remain on the Statute Book for seven years. The elections would have been due in less than two years' time and the Whigs felt it would be taking an undue risk to plunge the country into war so soon after the rising. They were further afraid that the results might go against them. They carried through Parliament a Septennial Act which extended the life of the present and all future Parliaments to seven years. This Act was a supreme exercise of sovereign power and at the time it was feared that it would set a bad precedent leading to the dictatorship in the future. But the forebodings of its critics proved groundless. In a way it increased the usefulness of the Commons by making them more independent of the king. Further seven years'

period provided a long enough time for the policies of a parliamentary majority to take effect. It was amended in 1911 reducing the life of Parliament to five years.

The Forty-Five. Another thirty years elapsed before the House of Hanover had to face another rising of the same type- In 1745 once again the Highlanders felt like rising, the seeming lack of popularity of the Hanoverians led to many wild hopes, above all the foreign troubles of England seemed to suggest to the young pretender, the grandson of King James II, that he might put his fortunes to the test. In July 1745 he landed with seven followers weary of waiting for the help which Louis XV promised but never sent. He was able to gather some help from the Scotch who always took an interest in him as a Scotch prince. He was more fortunate than his father and succeeded in capturing Edinburgh. In November he left Edinburgh and was able to march unopposed up to Derby. But this was a fluke of fortune. So far he had not met with any opposition in England because he had avoided the English army. But while London was panic-stricken and the king was meditating flight to Hanover, Charles was obliged to turn back. While on his way back to Scotland, he was at last defeated at Culloden by the English Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cumberland. He was, like his father, now obliged to leave the country and after many hair-breadth escapes he reached France.

The failure of the Forty-five demonstrated the success of the Whig plan of government. Howsoever the Hanoverians were disliked there was no positive grudge against them in any class of people in England.

The French Government though always willing to use the pretenders as convenient tools found itself unable to help Charles Edward as their armies were required elsewhere on the continent, just as Napoleon tried to use Ireland as a tool in his struggle against England and found it a useless weapon. Scotland offered possibilities to the French for an attack on England. The clannish feuds of the Scotch further created a difficulty that could not be easily overcome. Popular though Charles was his cause was foredoomed to failure from the very beginning. The stern measures for pacifying the highlanders that were soon after taken, though useful in the end, created much resentment at that time.

The Whigs in Power. It is no wonder that under such conditions the Whigs remained in power for forty long years. From 1714 to 1720 Lord Stanhope occupied the chief position in the ministry. Townsend and Walpole were his lieutenants. The Whigs repealed the Schism Act and the Occasional Conformity Act, put down the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 and strengthened the House of Commons by the passage of the Septennial Act. One of their constitutional attempts at strengthening their power would have surely deflected the English currents of constitutional development. They had at that time a majority in the House of Lords. They now proposed to make it permanent. A Peerage Bill was introduced in the House of Lords. It provided that the sovereign should create six English peers and afterwards should have power to create peers as the existing lines became extinct. It was represented that by thus limiting the power of the King, the Government would become more democratic. But if the House of Lords

had been allowed to perpetuate itself, the power of the Lords in Parliament would have been enormously increased. At present if a House of Commons ceased to reflect the wishes of the people it can be dissolved. If the House of Lords comes into clash with the Commons supported by the electors there is only one way of overcoming their resistance, *viz.* by creating or threatening to create new peers. The Peerage Bill would have prevented this. It would have established an oligarchy in England. Thanks to the opposition of Walpole in the Commons the bill was rejected there and the country was saved this catastrophe.

The failure of another financial measure of the time brought the ministry to an end. The treaty of Utrecht which brought the war of Spanish succession to an end conferred certain trade privileges on the British allowing them to trade with the Spanish colonies in South America. In order to exploit this concession a South Sea Company was formed. The Company was carrying on a profitable trade when a scheme for the conversion of the existing national debt of £ 51,000,000 was put before the Government. The Government stock-holders were offered shares in the South Sea Company of equal value. Those who refused to accept the new arrangement were to be bought out, for which purpose the Government was offeied £ 7,500,000. This arrangement would have benefited the tax-payer as the rate of interest of the national debt would have been lowered to 5 per cent. The Company in return asked for fresh commercial-privileges. Naturally the price of the Company's shares rose as a result of increased profits that were anticipated. More companies were formed, some of which were fraudu lent.

The South Sea Company created a panic by trying to prosecute them, and as a result some of the Companies failed. The shares of the South Sea Company that had been selling at an exceptionally high price came down involving many people in ruin. Public confidence in such enterprises was rudely shaken. But worse still was the fact that some of the ministers were found involved. An outcry was raised against them. It was discovered that Sir Robert Walpole had not taken part in these shady transactions and he was at once called to the helm of affairs in 1720.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WALPOLE AND WHIGS IN POWER

Walpole. Sir Robert Walpole who now became the head of the English ministry had entered Parliament in 1700 when only twenty-four. He served under Marlborough for two years (1708—1710). When George I came to the throne he became Paymaster General and was in 1715 appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1717 he resigned from office and opposed the Peerage bill. In 1720 he again entered the Government to become its head when Stanhope was obliged to resign.

Primeministership. For twenty long years Walpole steered the ship of state. This was a formative period in constitutional development and Walpole made the most of it. George I had not been attending the meetings of the cabinet since his accession. The result was that the minister who presided in the King's absence, and later on reported the proceedings of the cabinet to him and conveyed the royal wishes to his colleagues was emerging to a position of preeminence among the ministers. Walpole made most of his opportunities. 'His determination to maintain himself in power and his clear perception of the time when his power was at an end' played a great part in making him the first English prime minister. Slowly and steadily he brought about a condition of things which made him to determine who were to be his colleagues. With him

originated the practice which later on made it possible for his successors to insist on the loyalty of colleagues or their resignation. He was the first minister who frankly based his power on the House of Commons and remained its member as long as he was at the head of the Government. Again his is the first case when a minister left office without either being dismissed by the King or impeached by Parliament.

Walpole's Rule. His policy was one of peace. He wanted to give the nation time enough to recover its strength and make the most of its opportunities. He would let the sleeping dogs lie.

The Whigs were upheld by dissenters. It was natura to hope that the long continuous rule of the Whigs would remove the civic disabilities from which they suffered. Walpole passed annually an Indemnity Act from 1727 onwards indemnifying them for having held office despite the Test and Corporation Act. But he would not repeal these Acts lest it raised the opposition of the churchmen. Similarly following his predecessor he discontinued calling the convocation of the churchmen to prevent the rise of Anglican passions. He was, however, interested in finance and here he lay the germs of the policy that under Peel and Gladstone later on was to make England the commercial centre of the world. He reduced export duties on many manufactured articles as also import duties on raw materials. Not only did he thus help in the prosperity of the country, but he was also able to raise in some cases higher revenues as well. His best attempt in this field was his Excise Bill of 1733. In 1724 he had established warehouses for tea and coffee. This had increased English trade in the two articles. He allowed these articles to be imported duty free in

England. They were stocked in approved godowns and only that part of the stock paid duty which was consumed in the country. The system had worked well. In 1733 he proposed to extend it to wine and tobacco. The proposal would have stopped smuggling and increased revenues besides attracting trade to England. But his opponents in Parliament misrepresented the measure and he was obliged to withdraw it. He tried to reduce the national debt by setting apart some money for this purpose. He gave the landlords some relief which they did not deserve by reducing the land tax.

Walpole, as has been said above, took his orders from the people. Just as he withdrew his Excise Bill when he found it was not acceptable, similarly in two measures concerning Ireland and Scotland he gave way to popular clamour. In 1722 Sunderland had given the contract for coining half pences for Ireland to William Wood. The number to be coined was much in excess of need, their weight and quality was defective, it was estimated that the contractor would make £ 92,248. The issue was universally opposed in Ireland. Dean Swift, the famous writer, covered the whole business with ridicule and excited popular feelings by his Drapier's Letters. At last Walpole gave in, the contract was cancelled and the contractor was otherwise provided for.

In Scotland a riot at Edinburgh was caused by a collision between the citizens and the police guard. Smuggling had been flourishing in Scotland, and Walpole made some effort to suppress it. Two smugglers were accused of robbing a Collector. One of them escaped from the prison. When the other was executed there

was a collision between the city guard and the mob in which the captain of the guard fired indiscriminately on the mob as the result of which six were killed and eleven wounded. Porteous, the captain, was tried for murder and ordered to be executed on September 8, 1736. He got a respite but the mob broke into the jail on September 7, and hanged Porteous. This was but one of the riots of these years and the Government wanted to make an example of the city of Edinburgh. Walpole, however, contented himself by fining the city £ 2,000 to be paid to the widow of Porteous.

In the sphere of colonial policy Walpole followed no definite principle. The Navigation Acts were occasioning numerous complaints in the colonies. He provided some relief to the colonists by allowing them to export sugar and rice direct instead of these articles being first sent to England and re-exported from there. But his Molasses Act of 1733 went to the other extreme. It forbade the American colonies from importing mollasses from the neighbouring French colonies for the purpose of making sugar therefrom. Thus he further complicated the problem of trade prohibitions.

In foreign politics Walpole saw that the English interests would be best served by remaining at peace with his continental neighbours. While on the continent many problems were engaging men's mind Walpole kept peace by an Anglo-French alliance. In 1733, however, France felt that England had deserted her when Walpole did not support the French policy in Poland. The result was an understanding between France and Spain which, as we shall see elsewhere, led to war between England and Spain in 1739 much against Walpole's intentions. Walpole

resigned but George II forced him to remain in power. The ill-success of the war, however, led to Walpole's downfall in 1742 and he resigned when he discovered that the House of Commons did not support him.

Walpole's long lease of power was based on his management of the House of Commons. The eighteenth century House of Commons was quite different from a modern House. Of its 558 seats thirty-two were controlled directly by the Government. Officers in the Army and the civil servants filled usually about one hundred seats Forty-five Scotch members ordinarily followed the Government of the day. Another large number was made up of placemen and pensioners of one sort or another. The elections to the House of Commons were not independent and cost a good deal of money. One hundred and seventy borough seats out of a total of 224 in England were in the gift of the landowners. The House of Commons was not representative and it was not above corruption. Since the Restoration the ministers had been trying to get the Commons approve their measures by managing the House. Walpole reduced this management to a fine art. He could not brook opposition from his colleagues much less could he tolerate his flock of voters to go astray. By pensions, promotions, honours, places and even by direct bribery he managed to keep the House on his side for twenty-two long years. Yet his continuation in office did not depend on that alone. He managed to keep the support of the Court on his side; George I trusted him, George II followed Queen Caroline in giving him his confidence. But above all, Walpole was popular. As Dr. Johnson later on said, he 'was a minister given by the King to the people'. His policy excited little opposition even when it did he was able to allay it.

The Opposition and His Downfall. But it was a long and arduous struggle. He had to wage a war against his early colleagues in order to make them understand that he was at the head of the Government. Most of them refused to accept their dismissal from office calmly. They brought great intellect and a knowledge of public affairs to bear on their criticism of his measures. Of course the old Jacobites could not be expected to like him when he was reconciling the nation to the Hanoverian succession. But a new party was rising among them who accepted the Hanoverian rule—as later on the Conservatives under Disraeli accepted democracy—but resented Tory exclusion from office. Under Bolingbroke who in his 'Patriot king' once more revived the idea of an absolute king ruling of his own, they were prepared to take advantage of every little opportunity for criticism offered them. Much more serious, however, was the emergence of a group of younger members—the boys—who disliked Walpole's method of ruling through a servile house. These varying elements in the Opposition were united on their dislike of Walpole alone. It was not till other factors helped them that they were able to make themselves felt. The Porteous Riots in 1736 bred Scotch hostility. The death of Queen Caroline in 1737 weakened his influence at Court. True to the traditions of his house the Prince of Wales chose to attach himself to the Opposition. It was, however, the loss of popular support owing to the failure of the war against Spain that at last cost Walpole his office.

An ineffective attempt was made by the Opposition to impeach him. He gave them the slip and became a member of the House of Lords, dying in 1745. Walpole was the

first English Prime Minister and one of the ablest ministers England had. He directed English political life so as to develop the cabinet system of government. He increased the dependence of the government on the House of Commons. He established the house of Hanover firmly on the English throne. His commercial and financial policy led to prosperity that made the English able to stand the strain of the Seven Years' War. If he did not rise above the level of his contemporaries in managing the House of Commons, he could not be blamed for that.

CHAPTER XXXII

ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

When William III came to the throne, he continued his age-long opposition to the ambitions of Louis XIV. We saw how by the Treaty of Ryswick he was able to secure from Louis the recognition of his title to the English throne. But the peace of Ryswick was only a lull before the storm. Soon the English and the French interests came into clash and it was not till 1815 that the Second Hundred Years' War came to an end.

The War of Spanish Succession. The first round of the struggle between France and England after the peace of Ryswick was fought in the War of the Spanish Succession. It had been brewing in the last years of William's reign but actual fighting broke out under Queen Anne. As its name implies, the bone of contention was the Spanish Crown. When Charles II of Spain died childless, he left a will declaring that Philip, a grandson of Louis XIV, should succeed him to the Spanish throne. This question had been engaging the attention of European statesmen for some time and William and Louis had agreed on a partition of the Spanish dominions. Louis, however, now refused to abide by his earlier agreements. He would have now gained a commanding position in Europe by uniting the world-wide dominion of Spain in his own possession. Even this was disturbing enough but more followed. Louis threatened English trade with Spain claiming it for the Spaniards or the

French thus 'threatening to shut the English out.' It was this that really brought the British into the war. William was able to build a grand alliance of European powers against Louis XIV of which England, Austria, Holland, Portugal, Savoy and Hanover were important members.

The war began in 1702. The British had the military genius of Marlborough at their back. The war was fought on three fronts, in Italy, in Spain, and in Germany and the Netherlands. Austria was able to conquer Milan and Naples in Italy in 1706. In Spain, Archduke Charles of Austria who had been recognised as the heir to Spain by Louis in the Partition treaties was not able to make much headway. He captured Madrid in 1710 but failed to retain it. The English, however, managed to capture Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain. In the Netherlands and Germany Marlborough was able to gain several victories for the allies. In 1704 he defeated Louis at the battle of Blenheim thus dealing the first crushing blow to France. This enhanced English reputation and established the fame of Marlborough as a great commander. In 1705 and 1706 he devoted himself mostly to the Netherlands and defeated the French at Ramillies in 1706. The battle of Malplaquet in 1709 opened the way to France to him.

The war was thus not going on as well as Louis had hoped. He had offered the allies terms of peace after every victory of theirs. In 1706 Louis was prepared to abide by the partition treaty he had flouted, in 1708 he was prepared to give up the cause of Philip, in 1709 he was ready to assist the allies against Spain. The Whigs, however, had refused to entertain his ad-

vances and though they had originally entered the war on behalf of the Partition treaty now refused to close it unless it was agreed that Spain would no longer be governed by a French prince. England, however, seemed to be weary of war and the Tories in 1710 were able to make peace by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). It divided the Spanish territories between Philip of Spain, the Emperor of Austria and the Duke of Savoy, the three rival claimants to the Spanish throne through the female line. Though Philip became King of Spain it was decided that the same person was never to become the King of Spain and France. England for her part got Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, New Foundland, and the Hudson Bay territory. She was further allowed to send one ship every year to the Spanish territories in South America, besides being the sole supplier of slaves there. Anne was now recognized the lawful Queen of England, the pretender was to be expelled from France. National vanity was served by the provision that the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be razed to the ground.

Thus whatever had been her original intentions, the Peace of Utrecht brought England commercial and colonial advantages. In Europe it began a new states system.

For close upon twenty years England and France were at peace. Walpole in England recognized the value of peace and was not prepared to sacrifice it light-heartedly. It was with France as an ally that Walpole was able to defeat the Austro-Spanish alliance that tried to wrest Gibraltar from Great Britain in 1727. But fresh European problems cropped up. When the King of Poland died in 1733 the question of his successor engaged the attention of continental governments. Walpole

refused to be drawn into the struggle and support the French candidate who happened to be a Pole. France naturally felt deserted and discovered that she could not rely upon England to support her in her continental quarrels. She was now drawn towards Spain where a prince of her own line ruled. An understanding was arrived at between the two powers known as the Family Pact and in 1739 war between Spain and England began.

Jenkins's Ear Wars. Walpole was led into the struggle rather unwillingly. But there were many causes of friction between Spain and England. The Treaty of Utrecht provided many points of dispute. The British had the right to send one ship of 500 ton a year to South America, but they exceeded the limit, carried on smuggling and were otherwise breaking into the Spanish monopoly of trade. Further their monopoly of slave trade with the Spanish colonies was due to expire in 1743 and Spain seemed to be in no mood to renew it. The disputes about these trade rights necessitated searching of ships and the Spaniards claimed that they could search all ships which seemed to be going to Spanish America. It was further asserted that the Spanish Officers conducted search rather brutally. Some more colonial questions were embittering the relations between the two countries.

The war did not go well. Walpole was not a war minister and his feeble attempts at attacking Spanish America proved of little avail. It led, however, to Walpole's downfall in 1742.

War of Austrian Succession. In the eighteenth century it seemed that many ruling princes had

conspired to die leaving behind them disputed successions. Scarcely had the question of Spanish succession been settled, when the Polish question cropped up. When it died down the problem of the Austrian succession raised its head. Emperor Charles died leaving his daughter to succeed him. Most of the European states had agreed in the life-time of the Emperor to this arrangement, but a woman on the Austrian throne proved too sore a temptation to some of her neighbours. King Frederick William of Prussia tried to annex Silesia and a war followed. Austria appealed to England for help and she now joined the struggle. Soon France also appeared arrayed on the opposite side in support of Prussia. As far as England and France were concerned the struggle soon developed into a race for commercial and colonial supremacy in Asia and America.

Austria, England and Holland were not able to stand against the alliance Frederick the Great had cemented by promises of sharing the extensive dominions of Austria. He soon won Silesia in 1742 and retained it. When England joined the struggle in 1743 she was not able to bring into the field any commander of outstanding ability. George II won the battle of Dettingen in 1743. But the scene soon shifted to Flanders. At the battle of Fontenoy the French revenged themselves for the defeats Marlborough had inflicted on them. The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 led to the British withdrawal from the continental warfare. The British had, however, saved Marie Theresa and Austria from utter destruction and their moral superiority had blocked the armies of many of the allies.

Outside Europe the British were to conquer Louisburg and Cape Breton Island in North America. This

seriously imperilled the French colonies which had been established there. In India, the peace between the two parties was kept in Bengal where the Nawab was able to prevent hostilities in his own territory. In the South however, the local rulers were rather weak and the English and the French fought against each other to their heart's content. The French took Madras but their victory was marked by their quarrels. But much more important was their success in the battle of St. Thomas against the local Indian ruler who demanded Madras from them according to an earlier agreement. The battle of St. Thomas made the European conquest of India possible.

But neither side was getting the best of it. In 1748 France and England started negotiations for peace which was finally made at Aix-la-Chapelle. England and France restored their colonial conquests to each other. Elsewhere, Marie Theresa was able to retain her lands and get her husband recognized as the Emperor by bribing her rivals by parting with bits of her territory in Italy and Germany. Spain, Prussia, and Sardinia were thus compensated. Naturally Austria resented this British 'deserion' of her interests and was soon to make this resentment felt in the next struggle between France and England.

The peace, however, proved but a breathing space in the duel between England and France.

British Colonial Expansion. England and France were now embarked upon a struggle rendered necessary by their colonial and commercial expansion. It seemed as if there was not enough even of the new world to be divided easily between them.

The British colonies in North America had received two accessions of strength in the eighteenth century. One belonged to the old series, the annexation of Nova Scotia as a result of the War of Spanish Succession. The colonization of Georgia 1733, however, provided a still another cause for the spread of the British race in Northern America. It had been founded for the purpose of providing a home for the debtor prisoners in England. Their miserable condition led to this philanthropic effort at bettering their lot. Thus the whole coast was dotted with British colonies.

The French had, however, by this time acquired many important posts in the interior of North America. The British had occupied the coast, the French could only try to settle inland connected with the great waters. Their settlements occupied the districts that later on came to be known as Canada.

The trouble was that the French threatened the British in the rear and cut off their line of expansion. The English shut the French off the coast. Neither was happy at the existing state of things and war was inevitable.

In India in the first half of the eighteenth century the British were still traders. Their trading operations had prospered and they had acquired more sites for their factories. The British trade was, however, still organized under three presidencies. The Mughal empire was on the decline. Independent rulers were rising in most parts of the empire. The Marathas were trying to step into the shoes of the Mughal although they were not in a position to guarantee peace and order to the same extent. Thus the English had, therefore, to look to their own resources for safeguarding their interests in India.

The French on the other hand had tried to push on their trade in India and failed. The English beat them in commercial enterprise, the support of the French state was no match for the English private enterprise. Dupleix, their shrewdest governor, entered upon a questionable course of territorial struggle.

Thus both in America and India the things were drifting towards war.

Anglo-French struggle in America. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle did not give peace to the English settlers in America. Here the undemarcated boundaries provided enough ground for friction. The French tried to build a chain of forts in the Ohio Valley, the claim to which was disputed. The British retaliated in 1759 by building the Fort Necessity (near modern Pittsburg) in the disputed territory in order to check the French advance. The French, however, made short work of the British plans by capturing the fort. Hostilities now began, but soon an attempt was made to settle the boundaries of the French and the English territories by negotiation. Unfortunately failed. The hostilities between the English and the French went on in North America without undue advantage to either side. The English were trying to forestall the French and to intercept French reinforcements. The French succeeded in foiling the British attempt on French America. It was becoming a question of life and death for either side and though hitherto officially peace had been preserved between the English and the French in Europe, everything foreshadowed an early war between the two.

In India things were even worse. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was here honoured more in its breach than otherwise

The success of the French in what was known as the first Carnatic War naturally encouraged them to undertake bolder designs. Dupleix had demonstrated at the Battle of St. Thomas that a disciplined Indian army could be more than a match for a mere mass of fighting men many times their number. His success increased the importance of the French in the eyes of the Indian rulers of the time. They looked upon the French as people who had powerful armies at their disposal. Dupleix now decided to make a bold bid for territorial sovereignty and acquire trade privileges thereby. As fortune would have it there was a disputed succession both in Arcot and Haidrabad and Dupleix's aid was sought for by the claimants to both the thrones. Dupleix saw in this the fulfilment of his life-long ambition. He lent his armies which were successful in seating their supporters on the thrones of Arcot and Haidrabad. Dupleix now overreached himself. It would have been better for him, if content with power which he had acquired, he had not tried to parade it. But Dupleix acquired substantial rewards from the new Nawab of Arcot which included grant of territory on which depended the trade of Madras. The English were now roused to their danger. Dupleix's king-making, they discovered, was endangering their trade connections. When their help was sought by Mohammad Ali, a claimant to the throne of Arcot, they decided to participate in the struggle. The second Carnatic War now began between the French and the English as allies to rival Indian princes. Just as in Europe it had come to pass that every quarrel on the continent had resulted in bringing the English and the French face to face, similarly in India it seemed they would lie in two opposing camps.

The second Carnatic War (1748—1755) did not go as well for the French as the first. They succeeded in placing their nominee on the throne of Haidrabad with Bussy, their general, as his adviser. But the British were able—thanks to the military genius displayed by Clive—to keep their ally on the throne of Arcot. But worse still was the fact that the French lost the prestige they had acquired in the first war on account of the reverses they sustained. This continuous fighting in a land where neither had any clear prospects of success and its implications frightened their principals at home. The French Government recalled Dupleix though the order was cancelled later on but too late. His successor, however, did not want to reverse his policy very much and though he began negotiating for peace between the English and the French, he knew it would not last long. Before it was ratified, the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe.

In Europe Marie Theresa was not prepared to live down her loss of Silesia. The rise of Prussia at the cost of Austria rankled in her heart and she was on the look out for an opportunity of challenging Prussia. On the other hand, England was looking out for an occasion of quarrel between different rulers on the continent. The English King was also the Elector of Hanover and naturally English schemes for defending Hanover against possible attack demanded continental allies and Britain was content with Austria. But Austria was trying to enlist the French on her own side in the new struggle on the continent that she wanted to wage in order to regain Silesia. Frederick the Great of Prussia, however, was cleverer than his Austrian antagonist. By the convention of Westminster between Frederick and England Silesia was

guaranteed to Prussia while Frederick guaranteed Hanover to England. This was followed by a Franco-Austrian alliance. In Russia the rise of Prussia and particularly through Frederick the Great had been ill received, his 'rape of Silesia' was taken to be a death-blow to the old diplomatic system in Europe. Austria, France and Russia thus combined together in order to humble Frederick and regain Silesia for the Austrians. War began when Frederick invaded Saxony in 1756.

The struggle that followed started ill. The French captured Minorca from the English in 1756. Then came the news that the English attempt to fortify Calcutta against the possibility of an attack by the French had been resented by the local Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah who captured Calcutta as well as other trade centres of the British in Bengal. In America, Montcalm, the French general, captured the English fort Oswego and all seemed lost. England was disgraced and seemed to be ruined.

William Pitt. Fortunately for England she found in William Pitt a minister who understood her problem better than his enemies. Born in 1708 he had entered the House of Commons in 1736 and at once made his mark there. He joined the opposition against Walpole. On Walpole's retirement Pitt got his chance in 1746 when he was appointed Paymaster of the forces. He proved the sincerity of his attacks on Walpole's corrupt methods by refusing to make money in this office by utilising the interest on large Government sums to his credit in the bank. He continued in this office till 1755. The King however did not like his outspokenness and Pitt as yet did not understand continental politics well enough to see in the continental subsidies anything but a drain on

the British treasury. He was consequently dismissed in 1755. When the Duke of Newcastle resigned in 1756 pitt came to office again for a short time. But he had to atep aside as the Duke of Cumberland refused to lead the armies in Germany if he was kept in office. This increased his popularity so that 'it rained gold boxes' in which freedom of several cities was presented to Pitt. The King's attempt to exclude Pitt from ministry failed, as the war went against the British and the King was at last compelled to accept Pitt.

In the new ministry the Duke of New Castle was nominally the Prime Minister. He had long been in office, he was connected with many great families, and was a past master in the art of managing the House of Commons. He lelighted in his power over men which his management of the House and its patronage gave him, while Pitt was content with the direction of affairs. He brought to his conduct of the war a self-confidence that had long been lacking. 'I know I can save the country and no body else can' had been his one justification for retaining the entire conduct of the war in his own hands.

Pitt's plans for the war were at first not very successful. But he alone of all contemporary statesmen realised that as far as England was concerned, it was a war for colonial and commercial rivalry. Unlike the French he refused to put too many irons in the fire. He was content with concentrating his own energies on the struggle in America and in the east. In this he was successful mainly because he was able to choose the right man in the right place. English dread of a standing army had made her depend on mercenary troops from abroad. Pitt saw this would not do and decided to raise Highland regiments as well as local forces

in America in order to supplement the existing troops. He placed his main reliance on the navy. The British colonial empire could be saved only by the British naval supremacy. Despite the loss of Minorca in the beginning, he expected great things from the English navy. Many were the tasks it had to perform. In order to deprive the French in America and in the east of reinforcements from home, the navy had to patrol the high seas and make the transportation of the French troops impossible. This was to be accomplished by a ceaseless blockade of the French coast. In order to win America in Europe occasional attacks were to be made on the French coast so that from the dread of an invasion the French might be compelled to lock up a large number of troops in France. His main concern in the continental conflict was to play the second fiddle to Frederick and enable him to oppose successfully the grand alliance formed against him. He helped him with subsidies, and sent him troops when he could spare them which he knew Frederick needed badly.

But all this 'organising of victory' took time. The tide of ill-fortune did not ebb as soon as Pitt had come to power. In 1757 Hanover was almost completely lost to the French. Frederick was surrounded by enemies on all sides and defeated. Before the year was however over some tidings of good fortune came to cheer up the new minister. With the English help Frederick was able to defeat his enemies. His success in the battle of Rosbach opened a new chapter in the history of Europe. Prussia emerged a great power on that battle-field. In India, the loss of Calcutta had been followed by a revolution in Bengal in which the British were

able to help Mir Jafar in dethroning Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah. The battle of Plassy made Mir Jafar Nawab. As he owed his throne partly to the English help, foundations of British influence and power in India were laid thereby. Soon Clive was able to use his influence to capture Chandarnagar from the French.

It was in 1758 that the tide finally turned. Now that Pitt was generous in his help, Frederick followed up his early victories by defeating the Russians and the Austrians. The English luck in Hanover took a turn for the better. In Ferdinand of Brunswick the British discovered a skilful general and he proved the trust by expelling the French from Hanover. Pitt's scheme was at last telling upon the enemy.

But to Pitt the real centre of interest lay in North America and India. Pitt had raised local troops in North America. When British reinforcements were sent and supplies provided, the English in America were able to hold their own. Louisberg was captured in July, the capture of some more French forts drove a wedge between Canada and the French colonies in the south. In India the French under their new Governor Lally tried to take Madras in vain.

It was at this time that the French thought of invading Britain. If successful nothing better could befall them, as they would be able to dictate the terms of peace. Even if foiled, England had to concentrate her energies on her own defence. But Pitt refused to be drawn from his own plans. His enthusiasm was infectious, the people were prepared to make sacrifices under his lead that might have seemed impossible earlier. £ 670,000 were paid to Frederick so that he might continue his struggle against

his enemies. Fifty thousand troops were raised and sent to Germany to serve under Ferdinand. Despite the French menace 1759 became the 'greatest year England saw.' In North America the struggle was almost brought to a glorious end when Wolfe defeated the French at Quebeck. Canada was thus conquered. Capture of some of the French islands in the West Indies completed the tale of French disaster. But the English navy was also taking its share of victories. At Quiberon Bay in November, 1759, the British fleet defeated the French fleet and inflicted losses that seemed to be irreparable. England was now mistress of the seas and the French were cut off from their colonial possessions. At Minden the French were finally defeated and the ambitious schemes which Louis XIV had bequeathed to his successors were brought to an end. Frederick however was still in difficulties. In 1760 came the climax. Montreal in Canada was at last conquered and Canada now became finally British. In India Coote defeated Count Lally in the battle of Wandewash. The French recall of Bussy from Haidrabad resulted in the English capture of the Northern Sircars.

In 1761 negotiations for peace began, but they were rudely broken up when it appeared that France and Spain were drifting into an alliance. But meanwhile Pitt's position at home had been undermined by a change of the crown. George III had come to the throne in 1760 and was bent upon becoming the real director of English policy. He filled the cabinet with his own nominees. In 1761 when Pitt asked this cabinet to declare war against Spain, they refused to follow his lead and Pitt resigned.

But Spain soon joined the French against the English and war was declared in 1762. Spain fared no better

than France. One after another many Spanish colonies were captured by the British, the most important being the conquest of the Philippine Islands.

The Peace of Paris. Both sides were, however, exhausted. France was prepared to make peace with England and under the King's lead she was prepared to desert her Prussian ally. By the Peace of Paris the war was at last brought to an end. As fates would have it, the Whigs had made the war and organised victory; it was left to their supplanters, the King's friends, to make the peace.

The Peace of Paris allowed England to retain most of her conquests. The French surrendered Canada and though they were allowed to retain some colonies in the south—which they later on sold to the United States of America during the revolutionary war—the French empire in North America came to an end. In the West Indies England retained Tobago, St. Vincent, Granada, and Dominic which had been conquered from the French. On the African coast England got French Senegal. In India, the French dreams of empire were shattered for ever. The French factories were restored to the French but their fortifications were dismantled and France was left in a position of defencelessness. England acquired Florida from Spain and Minorca was also made over to her.

The peace of Paris thus eliminated the French as serious rivals to the British in North America and India. It recorded the British supremacy on the high seas as never before. But the British desertion of their Prussian ally left them without a friend on the continent. Had Pitt been left in command, he might have been able to get much better terms.

CHAPTER XXXIII

GEORGE III AND THE KING'S SYSTEM

George III and the Whigs. George II died in 1760 and he was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new King was English in his outlook and sympathies and this proved fatal to the foreign dominion of England. 'He gloried in the name of Briton' as he told his first Parliament. His mother had been urging him all his life, 'George, be king.' His ideas of kingship were based on Bolingbroke's famous tract, 'the Patriot king.' The country had been governed by the Whigs so far, they had little by little, stepped into the place the Crown had occupied before the Revolution of 1689. The Glorious Revolution, as we have already seen, decided once for all that in England Parliament was supreme and that there was no room for a King in England who should try to defy Parliament. The broad principles had been settled, but the details of government had yet to be worked out. It goes to the credit of the Whig statesmen that, consciously or unconsciously, they put England on the road to the system of a limited monarchy under Parliament. In the process the wheels of government were oiled by bribery and corruption. It is a mistake to suppose however that the Whigs were kept in power on account of their 'management' of Parliament alone. At times when people were moved, the elections did not go as smoothly as the government might have liked. England was not governed democratically yet, but at the elections the people could, when roused, express themselves. The

downfall of Walpole, and thc repeated election of Wilkes, as we shall soon see, in spite of court antipathy are two cases in point. George III wanted to go back on the conventions by which the Whigs, though unconsciously, were trying to create a limited monarchy of Parliamentary type. What Bolingbroke had proposed in the 'Patriot king,' what the young King desired himself seemingly meant that the King would come into his own as the Revolutionary settlement seemed to indicate. It is true few statesmen of the time understood the actual drift of the English constitution and many men of note besides the King and Bolingbroke were found condemning the Party Government of the eighteenth century. George III did not want to be a despot. He was prepared to respect the Bill of Rights and all that had gone before it. He did not want to defy Parliament; the Stuarts had found that too costly an experiment and George III was too shrewd to try it. The executive power had been left in the hands of the King by the Revolution, he meant to exercise it. Parliament was the repository of legislative power; and it granted the money to the executive. He had no intention to touch these two powers of Parliament. The House of Commons would have liked that the King should employ such ministers in whom they had confidence. It was this that had brought about party Governmant. George III wanted to go back on this. The ministers were appointed—and they are still appointed—by the King; they were his servants. He would exercise this power, appoint whomsoever he liked to different offices in the state. What if they came into collision with Parliament either over the question of supplies or of legislation ? Here the Whigs had shown him the way he thought. He could use his

personal influence to mould the opinions of the members; he could try to manage the Parliamentary machine by bribery and jobbery. There was nothing strictly unconstitutional therein. But like Charles I when he was opposing his Parliaments, George III was standing in the way of the logical development of the English constitution. Had he been successful, England would never have been able to become a democracy without another revolution which would surely have been provoked by the success of his experiment sooner or later. The Whig method of Government—which entailed at that time the elimination of the King from the ordinary business of government—made possible further development of the English constitution on the lines so far followed. Parliament was supreme in legislation and finance; its voice was becoming decisive in the every day administration of the country. The Whig experiment was helping the Parliamentary invasion of the executive function of the government which was implicit in the Revolution of 1689. George III did not understand this trend of English history; to him the Whigs looked like usurpers who were playing at being the governors of the country. He failed to understand that Parliamentary supremacy was in reality being established by Whig rule through party government. It was an accident that Tories had been kept out of power so long. George III considered it to be a wicked conspiracy on the part of the Whigs to have monopolised the government so long.

The King's Friends. George wanted to create a partv in Parliament devoted to him. Whigs had managed their majorities through corruption, and he thought, he followed suit in creating 'Kings Friends' by the same means.

He was helped by the fact that the Tories were now eager to shoulder the burden of government. Jacobitism was dead —thanks to the Whigs. Further the Whigs themselves were divided. The long lease of power had demoralised them, the principles for which they stood were now no longer in question. It was thus very easy for the King to oust them from power. He did not want to rouse opposition when he could avoid it. Thus he began his work slowly but steadily. Lord Bute, a Scotchman, was his tutor and shared his views as to the place of the King in the government of the country. The King appointed him a member of the cabinet. In 1761 the question of the war with Spain drove Pitt out of office as his colleagues were not prepared to follow his lead. This made things easier for the King. At the new elections in 1761 he became his own manager of the boroughs and ran the candidates for election. Newcastle, the nominal Prime Minister, thus lost the control of the House and resigned in 1762. Bute was now appointed Prime Minister. The King, however, kept the direction of affairs in his own hands, Bute was only his second deputed to do what he was asked. But rather unexpectedly the King found himself driven to accept Bute's resignation. The Peace of Paris which closed the Seven Years' War had made him highly unpopular, for the first time newspapers took a hand in dethroning a minister whom some sneered at as a Scotsman, others as a favourite. The King again turned to the Whigs and persuaded Grenville to accept office. But he soon got tired of him as he did not take kindly to 'the management' of the House of Commons by the King. He dismissed him in 1765 but found it difficult—even though he himself managed the House—to get a complacent

ministry. In his despair he turned to the Whigs once again. The Duke of Rockingham now held office till 1766. But the King and Whigs drove the carriage of the state in different directions. Rockingham would not take his orders from the King and the King would not lend him—when he could help it—the support of his friends in the Commons. In 1766 Rockingham was dismissed and succeeded by Pitt who now shared the King's desire so far as the question of forming an 'independent' ministry was concerned. Pitt felt that party government was a serious obstacle to good government and that a ministry drawn from all sections of opinion would better serve the national cause. The King agreed as that would at least exclude the Whigs and keep him in power as the leader of the King's friends. Further want of harmony among the ministers would naturally increase the King's importance. He was content with letting Pitt try the experiment.

Pitt however soon discovered his mistake. It was difficult to drive the unruly team which he had been given. His illness and consequent absence gave the King his chance. He was able to wield an influence which he had never dreamt of. Under the King's direction and with his approval the ministry tried to tax the American colonies and usurp the functions of the constituencies by nominating a defeated candidate for Middlesex as a member of the House. The experiment of non-party government was soon wrecked on the rock of public opposition. Two men played a very important part in rousing popular opinion against the government. An anonymous writer—whose identity is still a matter of doubt—began to criticise the government in a series of 'Letters of Junius.' The criticism was sometimes unfair

and usually violent. But the letters, especially on account of the mystery concerning the writer, roused a good deal of interest in current politics and as such did its work in undermining the King's system.

Wilkes. The second man who roused opposition to the new government was Wilkes. He had already gained notoriety enough. He was a rake and a libertine. He lived to end his days as a King's pensioner. But unworthy though he was, he became responsible for far-reaching gains on behalf of the people. He had first come to lime light when Bute was the Prime Minister. His scurrilous attacks on Bute were partly responsible for driving that noble man from office. It was the first demonstration of the power of the press. But Wilkes did not stop there. When Grenville was the Prime Minister he attacked the speech from the throne that the King delivered in 1765 in his paper *North Briton.* This was as good as accusing the King of having lied.

The speech from the throne represented the opinions of the ministry, but George III took the attack as a personal insult and ordered the persecution of the writer. Though Wilkes was known to be the writer of the article, the Government had no evidence to prove that. A 'general warrant' was therefore issued for the arrest of the printers, publishers and the authors of the paper. The warrant specified no name and gave the police the power to arrest whomsoever they might suspect of the alleged offence. Wilkes along with some others was arrested under that warrant. He was a member of the House of Commons which was then sitting. As such he could not be arrested. He pleaded his privilege as a member of the House and was released on that count though the House of Commons passed

a resolution that the privilege of freedom from arrest did not extend to seditious libel, the offence for which Wilkes was charged. This attempt of the House for encroachment upon the privilege of its own members failed. Wilkes however was not content with this victory. He sued the officers who had issued the general warrant leading to his arrest. The court declared that the general warrants were illegal. Thus the last restraint on the liberty of the subject was removed and Wilkes had been the instrument thereof.

But Grenville's Government did not want to leave Wilkes unpunished. He had printed for private circulation an indecent Essay on Woman and attached the name of a bishop as the author of the notes with which it was adorned. He was, most unjustly, expelled from the House of Commons for this alleged 'breach of privilege.' Popular sympathies found in him an object where they could demonstrate their antagonism to the Government and Wilkes became very popular. However he soon found it necessary to leave England. He returned and was elected a member of the House of Commons in 1768. Under the King's instructions, the House of Commons did not allow him to take his seat as he had been convicted for seditious libel. The election was declared void and a new election ordered. Wilkes stood again, was re-elected and again turned down. A third election only made him more popular and again he was elected. A fourth election was ordered.

When again he was successful, the House of Commons declared the defeated candidate who was the King's nominee, duly elected and excluded Wilkes. This was a dangerous challenge to popular rights. If the House of Commons

could thus declare defeated candidates members of Parliament, the voters would cease to have any power and elections would become meaningless. Wilkes again became an instrument of popular agitation. In 1774 he was re-elected and allowed to take his seat, in 1782 the House of Commons under the Whig Government of Rockingham acknowledged its mistakes and the resolutions against Wilkes were erased from the records of the House.

But Wilkes' record of achievements was not yet full. When the King and Parliament had been fighting, the secrecy of Parliamentary proceedings was a necessity in order to safeguard members from the wrath of the King. The times were changed, but not so Parliament. It still insisted that its proceedings be not published. The newspapers, however, had been in the habit of publishing Parliamentary debates in various forms. A member of the House of Commons complained that his speech had been grossly misrepresented in certain papers and asked for action against them. The Commons sent their messengers for the arrest of the culprits. One of the messengers with his prisoner was brought before Wilkes who was a justice of the peace in London and another Magistrate. The printer was let off, the messenger of the House was sent to prison for arresting a Londoner. The Commons now cited the two magistrates to appear before them for thus insulting their messenger. One of them was a member of the House, he attended and was imprisoned. Wilkes, who was anxious for a fight, refused to attend unless he was allowed to take his seat for Middlesex. The Commons now had too much of Wilkes and wisely refrained from touching him. While this struggle between the city

and the Commons was going on, Wilkes again became a popular hero. He won his point, Parliament has never objected to the publication of its proceedings since then.

Thus Wilkes, however unworthy in personal character became an instrument for furthering the cause of English liberty. He got the general warrants declared illegal, he brought to an end Commons' interference with the elections on party line he furthered the liberty of the press by getting the proceedings of Parliament published with impunity and thus increased the democratic nature of the English Government and further stimulated a demand for Parliamentary reform

Lord North and the King. Notable though the popular opposition to the ministry was and doomed though the king's cause seemed at times, he survived both effectively. In 1770 he appointed Lord North as the Prime Minister who agreed to govern the country according to the views of the king. George was now his own Prime Minister. North was but an official deputed by him to explain and carry through his proposals in Parliament. The king's system now had at last a chance.

Lord North allowed the king to dictate to him in almost all matters of policy. The king worked hard. He scanned every division list in the Commons, he controlled every department of state. The ministers reported to him and got his instructions. He influenced the House of Lords and otherwise kept the Government going. The king's friends prospered exceedingly. Their very success increased the chagrin of the opposition. The Whigs had never been able to take

their dismissal kindly, and now that they found a long period of exclusion from office before them they became all the more active in opposition. The one thing that they needed to put life into their dry bones—thanks to the king's system—was supplied them. They discovered taat they had principles to fight for and though helpless in Parliament they got a new lease of life. They were now transformed into a party defending the system of government on the lines on which they had conducted it till 1760. They put forward reasoned arguments against the king's system. They evolved a political philosophy and a creed. The king's friends, on the other hand, soon got merged in the Tories with the king as their real leader. Thus this crisis in the development of the English constitution brought in its train its own remedy.

Lord North tried his best to govern the country according to his light modified by the king. Three problems of importance confronted the people while he was the Prime Minister. Since the end of the Seven Years' War, British fortunes in India had been steadily improving. The battle of Buxar in 1765, where they defeated the combined armies of the Nawab of Bengal, the Mughal Emperor, and the Nawab of Oudh resulted in their first extensive territorial gains. They became Diwan of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Soon these three provinces passed completely into their hands. But the East India Company had not been formed to rule vast territories in far off countries. The attempt to govern these provinces by means of the commercial machinery that had been at work long since completely broke down in hopeless confusion, corruption, misrule and worse. The Company had, however, been

paying its way so far. But when about this time it appeared that it was in serious financial difficulties, Lord North at once utilized the opportunity to provide Indian possessions of the Company with a frame-work of government. The Regulating Act was passed in 1773. It was the first attempt of its kind to set up a government of a European power in a civilized country far off from Europe. Naturally the attempt was not very successful and had soon to be modified. But Lord North must get the credit of making a bold experiment and in many important matters of having shown the way to his successors. The act set up a Governor-General of Bengal with four Councillors to help him. It established a Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta to deal out English justice in India. It made some provision for the supervision of Indian affairs by the home government and remodelled the Board of Directors and the Court of Proprietors of the Company so as to become an instrument of government as well as a commercial concern.

His second venture was the Quebec Act of 1774. Canada had been conquered from the French in the Seven Years' War, but so far no attempt had been made to provide it with a constitution. The Quebec Act set up a representative government in Quebec just as in other American colonies. A governor nominated by the home government and nominating in turn his own Executive Councillors was to work side by side with an elected legislature. The Quebec Act, though not starting a new experiment in colonial government, has been held by some historians to embody the British ideas of Parliamentary government. George III saw in it a reflection of the system he was trying to establish in England.

The executive and the legislature were to be independent of each other though the legislature as a matter of course was to enjoy the power of granting supplies and making laws.

The Failure of the King's system. The third problem concerned the quarrel with the American colonies which had been going on almost since the beginning of George III's reign. It ended unhappily for the king and his system. The revolt of the American colonies which the king failed to suppress discredited his system. Popular, though it had been so far, it could not stand the shame of the English defeats in the war so soon after the glories of the Seven Years' War. Lord North had, many a time during the course of the war, offered to resign but the king had been keeping him back. He could, however, no longer remain in office when it became apparent that the American colonies had become the United States of America. He resigned in 1782 and with his death the king's system came almost to an end. The king was obliged to call the hated Whigs to power, the ministries of Rockingham and Shelbourne that now came in managed to remain independent. Besides bringing the American War to an end and making peace with the continental powers as well, the Whigs in their short tenure of office made a determined effort to kill the king's system. It was corruption which mainly enabled the king to control the House of Commons. Edmund Burke the famous English writer and statesman, carried through an Economic Reform Act which dealt the king's system another deadly blow. The corruption of the House of Commons was now made impossible by excluding those from it, who stood to gain by voting with

the Government. The king's defeat in this political game was made still clearer when he was compelled in 1783 to accept the coalition of Fox, the Whig leader, with North who had served the king so faithfully. But he soon had his revenge. Fox introduced a bill to amend the Regulating Act of 1773 and to bring the Government of India more directly under the Home government. The king began to intrigue against his own ministers, but the bill passed the House of Commons. In the Lords the king let it be understood that he would consider every peer who voted for it his enemy. The threat proved effective. The Lords threw out the bill and the king made that an excuse for dismissing the ministry. He seemed to have triumphed. It looked as if the king's system again came to life surviving the disasters of the American War as well as the Economic Reform Act.

But the king's success was more apparent than real. He called to power a young man who, he knew, shared his hatred of the Whig rule. The son of William Pitt the elder, who now became the Prime Minister, had however his own idea of English government. He had no majority in the House of Commons where the Whigs and the followers of Lord North combined together in order to inflict a series of defeats on him. So far he was held in power because he was the King's nominee. But when soon after the new elections to Parliament were held, he was able to get a personal and popular majority independent of the king. His accession to power drove the last nail into the coffin of the King's system. He quietly began to assert himself and dismissed ministers who were opposed to his views. The king however was happy to exclude the Whigs from power though at the cost of his own influence in the Government. George III and Pitt understood each

other and Pitt, the son of a Whig father, became the founder of New Toryism.

Thus the Georgian interlude in constitutional development was at an end. It had however served its purpose by raising problems and supplying the solution of some of them. The Whig hegemony came to an end, but a new Whiggism was born which in its turn gave birth to the Liberal movement of the nineteenth century. The usual 'management' of the House of Commons became a thing of the past when the Whigs discovered that it could be used to their own detriment. The struggle with Wilkes over the Middlesex election gave birth to a movement for Parliamentary reform that was to culminate in the Reforms Act of 1832. A new Toryism was born which claimed to be as popular in its appeal as Whiggism. A United States of America had come into being enriching the world of political experience by a new type of democracy hitherto unknown. Rather unforeseen results these but the stream of English constitutional development has rarely borne deflection easily.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The old Colonial System. In an earlier chapter we examined the working of the old colonial system. The government of the colonies was carried on by a governor with an executive council usually nominated and a legislature elected by the people. This system of an irresponsible executive coupled with a popular assembly was showing signs of breakdown. The assemblies in most of the colonies had been steadily gaining power; their monopoly of legislative power and grant of supplies gave them a weapon with which they influenced the executive. In fact they were employing the same weapons which the Englishmen at home had employed when they had succeeded in establishing Parliamentary supremacy. In the colonies the pressure to get a control of the executive was stronger as the legislatures were more popularly composed than in England. Here therefore was a cause of friction which might have produced a crisis if not reasonably handled.

Then there was the question of trade restrictions. As we have already seen, the colonists were compelled to use English ships or colonial ships for their carrying trade. Further they could import goods from outside only through England. Their own exports were mostly restricted to England in return for which they were given the monopoly of the English supply in certain articles by heavy or prohibitive duties on foreign imports and prohibition in the case of tobacco at least against English cultivation. This system of imperial preference did of course favour England on the whole and was supposed to be the only

advantage she derived from her colonies. Colonial resentment against it had taken the form of smuggling to and from the American possessions of other European powers. It was so small an inroad on the general system of the trade laws that it had been usually tolerated. But it cannot be denied that here again were elements of a conflict which might at any time widen the breach between the colonies and the mother country. The last feature of the colonial system in trade prevented the colonial competition with the home market. Colonial iron industry was thus strangled lest it should compete with the English industry.

But all these restrictions were a part of the mercantilist system which governed English industrial and commercial policy. Indeed Grenville made an attempt to overhaul the whole system and make it more reasonable. There is no reason to doubt that left to itself this problem would have been solved sooner or later. Adam Smith, the father of political economy, published his famous 'Wealth of Nations' in 1776 advocating a departure from the current mercantilist theories and his lead was followed by Pitt later on. Trade restrictions may have produced a sullen discontent, but they do not figure very much in the colonial controversy that started about this time.

Imperial Taxation of America. The American attitude towards the question of their defence had been a constant thorn in the flesh of the British statesmen. The Seven Years War had been fought mainly on behalf of the colonies, the War of the Spanish Succession had been almost a colonial war. The first had cost the British £ 90,000,000, the second about £ 60,000,000. The colonies had shared very little, if anything, of this burden. But this was not the point at issue. The

conquest of French Canada, the elimination of the French danger seemed to the colonists the end of the liabilities on this account. The British statesmen however thought otherwise. Their diplomatic advisers feared French revenge, their military experts pointed to the increased danger from the Indians on the new frontiers. It was decided therefore to keep a substantial military force in the colonies and make them pay for it. Here was the difficulty. The colonies were notified that a British garrison of 12,000 troops would be stationed there and that they should meet one-third of its cost amounting about £ 100,000 annually. Whether as the colonists believed that they were capable of undertaking their local defence and therefore should have nothing to do with the British proposal or simply from inertia the colonies did not make any suggestions as to the raising of their part of the cost of the British garrison in the colonies. George III's Government under Grenville thereupon moved a resolution in the House of Commons foreshadowing the imposition of stamp duties in the colonies. This was in March 1769. A year passed and still the colonists neither made an alternative suggestion nor did they notify their disapproval of the measure. In March 1765 the Stamp Act was passed without protest from the colonies or from any section of the British Parliament.

Now the colonists were a democratically organized people. A 'fierce spirit of liberty' burnt in their hearts. Their forefathers had tempted fortune when they decided to defy the elements rather than tolerate autocratic government in England. Descendants of the dissenters, heirs to the principles of the glorious revolution, they had gone further in experimenting with democratic institutions

than their kinsmen in England. About this time discussion over two constitutional cases had brought to the forefront the mentality that they had been developing. General warrants were issued in Massachusets in connection with smuggling and held legal by the British Parliament. James Otis, a brilliant advocate of Boston, attacked the general warrants and as the British Parliament had declared them legal, he impugned the authority of Parliament itself. His speech 'is conveniently regarded as the first act in the American Revolution.' Nor was this all. In another case before a court in Virginia it was argued that the king's veto of a law passed by a colonial legislature in the interests of the colonists was void. The jury accepted the argument, the court decided the case accordingly, and the British Government did not interfere. Such was the trend of political thought of the colonists at that time. Thus when the Stamp Act was passed, a resolution was carried through in the Virginian legislature protesting against the taxation of the colonists by a Parliament in which they were not represented. A Stamp Act Congress was held at New York soon after and all the colonies united together in protesting against the Stamp Act and the illegal invasion of their rights by the British Parliament. The issues had been joined.

But the colonists aimed at nothing further than safeguarding their own right to be taxed by their own representatives. The quarrel could have been easily terminated by a judicious spirit of compromise, a quality in which the English Government was totally lacking since the control was in the hands of George III. It should be remembered that eleven long years separate the passage of the Stamp Act and the Declaration of American Independ-

ence. The Stamp Act did not at once send the colonists to arms. The colonial protests did not immediately take the form of an indictment of the English Government. It was a question capable of practical solution. The colonists were defending their right to govern themselves against the British attempt to govern them from London—a thing of recent origin.

The Whigs under the Marquis of Rockingham repealed the Stamp Act in 1766 and thus closed the controversy for the present. Of course they accompanied it by a Declaratory Act declaring to all and sundry that the British Parliament was the sovereign authority in all the British dominions. But this was only of academic interest. The colonial controversy would have died a natural death but for the folly of their successors in persisting in taxing the colonists. Townsend, in 1767 imposed import duties on tea, glass, and certain other articles imported into the colonies. The British statesmen thought this was but an extension of their trade regulations, which had never been protested against by the colonies. Already in the scheme for imperial preference the colonists were paying duties on articles imposed by acts of British parliament. But the colonists thought otherwise. The earlier import and export duties had not been levied with a view to produce revenue but to regulate trade and industry. The new duties were clearly in a class by themselves and were held to be as obnoxious as the Stamp Act. Again the colonists protested and the goods that were to produce the desired revenue were virtually boycotted all over the continent. The British Government was now faced with a serious problem and unfortunately it refused to solve it in the right spirit. Taxes on all other articles were withdrawn in 1770 except a small duty on

tea. It produced £ 300 a year. The concession—if if can be called so—seemed to imply that the colonists had objected to the taxes because they meant higher prices and entirely ignored the constitutional question. £ 300 a year could not meet the expenses of the British garrisons in the colonies to any large extent. It seemed to the colonists—and rightly—that it was a standing declaration that they should be prepared to be governedfrom London —a departure from the practice hitherto followed. The colonial agitation therefore became more violent and when the British so arranged the tea duties that the colonists should have cheaper tea they were indignant. This move was represented as an insidious attempt to make them buy the taxed tea. But though the East India Company brought tea in abundance, the Americans refused to buy it, except in South Carolina where however it failed to find consumers.

Boston Tea Party and its results. But it was in Boston where feelings had been running high for some time that the crisis occurred. In 1770 the presence of a British garrison in the town led to a quarrel between the soldiers and the citizens. The soldiers fired and five men were killed. This was unfortunate and the Governor wisely withdrew the garrison from the town. When in December 1773 a tea ship lay in Boston harbour it was boarded and the tea chests were thrown overboard into the water. The colonists had thus resorted to violence and with the Boston Tea Party the American quarrel entered a fatal phase.

The British Government rightly felt that its authority had been defied. The Boston harbour was closed, the constitution of Massachusets was amended, the British Parliament assuming large powers. The definition of the

boundary of the new province of Quebec by an Act of 1774 further gave the colonies a cause for offence by including large areas which they had been claiming as a part of their own territory. A military Governor was appointed at Boston. The British Government seemed to be bent upon forcing the issue now that the colonists had turned 'rebels.' Events were moving rather ominously. The British Government had foolishly adopted a position from which retreat seemed to be impossible. It was asserting the supremacy of Parliament with a vengeance by modifying the constitution of Massachusets. The colonies were now brought together as never before. A continental congress of twelve out of the thirteen colonies met in October, 1774 and defined their attitude. They protested against the British attempt to govern them from London but had no quarrel with the way in which they had been governed so far. They claimed free and exclusive power of legislation and finance subject only to the negation of their sovereign. They sent a petition to the king. The question of independence had not yet been mooted and it is doubtful if there were 'a dozen men in all the colonies who wished for independence'.

But like the Puritans in the seventeenth century, the colonists did not want to be taken by surprise. They were preparing to resist the British attempt by force of arms. At Boston this brought about a natural clash between the colonists and the authorities. The Governor of Massachusets sent out a party of soldiers from Boston to Concord where the legislature dissolved by the governor had been sitting. Their march was opposed at Lexington by armed colonists. They were however able to force their way. When they returned after doing

their job, they were opposed at Lexington. A relieving force saved them from destruction. The first shots had been fired, blood had been drawn and the American War of Independence began.

The American War of Independence. Few people in England understood either the nature of the quarrel or cared to find a way out except through force. George III's attitude that 'we must coerce the colonies or treat them as aliens' expressed the popular view. The American War of Independence was popular in England. But three men saw much ahead and proposed the solution which came to be adopted later on in the nineteenth century. It was given to an economist, Adam Smith, to analyse the situation better than most of the statesmen had been able to do and propose remedies that would certainly have averted the War. With a merciless logic he exposed the hollowness of the claim that it would benefit the British to coerce the colonists into obedience. He was 'content to leave them free acknowledging only subordination to the British crown.' Burke and Chatham were not however so clear in their proposals though they saw through the folly of going to war against the colonists because they were defending the very principles on which the English constitution had been built. Burke believed with Adam Smith that left to themselves the colonists were likely to be drawn nearer to England.

But theirs was a voice in the wilderness. Without saying so, the old colonial system had created a feeling in the minds of the colonising powers that the colonists were subordinate to them. Few looked to the democratic constitutions which England had helped in developing in the

colonies. Their vision was limited to the trade restrictions which the colonists had always acquiesced in and which were therefore visible signs of their subordination. They awoke to discover that the colonies were politically almost independent and were haunted by a lurking feeling that this might result in their ceasing to be a source of material gain to themselves. It was this atmosphere that made the war inevitable. Grenville and Townsend, North and George III were purely exponents and instruments of a policy that was upheld widely by the English people. It may be argued however that if the Whigs had been driven from office by George III's pernicious king's system, the voice of Burke and Chatham and the foresight of Adam Smith might have had a better chance of persuading the people in England to believe that their interests lay elsewhere than in a war with the colonists. It would have been nothing short of miraculous if they had been successful in their attempts. But it may be said that with the Whigs in office the quarrel might have been avoided. The debates on the Stamp Act, the Whig speeches on the Declaratory Act, the discussion on Townsend duties all point out that the English statesmen realised the strength of the American protest only after it was made.

The war that followed was momentous in its result. The British who had defeated the French and their allies in the Seven Years' War were confident that they would have an easy victory over the colonists. The difficulties of campaigning in North America were ill-understood and underrated now that the men with local knowledge were all on the other side. George III had allowed the British Navy to get disorganized--thus the one

condition that would have assured success was lacking. The British moreover failed to produce any great military leader or, a civilian organizer of victories like Pitt. The British victories in the Seven Years' War moreover had left a crop of jealous powers behind. France was on the look out of a chance to get even with her hated rival. Spain followed the French lead. The British conduct of the war on the seas enraged the neutrals and war was declared against Holland where as Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark leagued themselves in an armed neutrality against the British. Where the British had thought of a short and swift war, it was prolonged by the adhesion of so many enemies together. No wonder the British were not able to defeat the colonists though they were able to take care of their own interests against their continental rivals.

But the nature of the American War of Independence would be entirely missed unless one thing is remembered. It was a struggle for life and death in which the colonists were engaged. The British were engaged in an attempt to put down a rebellion only, the colonists were safeguarding their national existence. In George Washington who had served as a volunteer against the French they discovered a military genius who performed the wonderful feat of raising a national army, well disciplined and well ordered from a force of volunteers. Further he knew how to conceal his losses from the enemy and, what was more important, from his own men as well. For it must not be forgotten that from one-third to one-half of the people in the colonies did not desire to break away from the mother country and their number would have been increased if the colonial

losses had been allowed to be well understood. Of course the natural features of the land helped the colonists just as they hindered the British.

Of the actual course of fighting much need not be said. The first serious encounter was on the heights of Bunker Hill near Boston in June 1775. The colonists who had occupied the place were driven out by the British troops but at a terrible cost. The Americans had now proved that they were not cowards, that they could stand intense fire and active fighting. The British had to withdraw from Boston, a colonial invasion of Canada was attended with some success and the British failed to dislodge the Americans from any important position.

Declaration of Independence. The rebellion seemed to be justified by its results. On July 4, 1776 was issued the American Declaration of Independence which opened a new chapter in the history of the world. The colonists renounced allegiance to Britain because they declared that the British Government had infringed their rights. Here was a new conception of sovereignty. Following Locke and the Whigs at the time of the Glorious Revolution, they actually treated government as a contract. The British Government had ceased to fulfil the terms of the contract and hence the contract was at an end, the colonists were free from British sovereignty. Howsoever unhistoric and illogical the reasoning it opened up new possibilities for the exercise of popular rights. It became the forerunner of the popular and national revolutions that were to come so thick and so fast in the nineteenth century. Then it established a constitution more democratic than anything the world had so far seen on so large a scale. A new state was brought into existence and it became a democratic republic barring

the slaves. Excepting in a few, and now insignificant, small states, republican form of government was almost extinct in the world. It opened up a new chapter in the history of colonisation. So far colonies had no doubt changed hands but this was mostly due to the varying fortunes of the colonising powers. Now, however, rebellion and popular revolution were definitely added to the causes which might change the political organisation of a colony. Of course it profoundly affected the British colonial activity. Not only did it bring the first British Empire over the seas almost to an end, it had disastrous effect on future colonial policy. If the colonies were after all to break away from the mother country, why bother at all?

The Declaration of Independence changed the Americans from rebels to a rival power. It definitely marked the establishment of a new state in North America. The declaration of rights that it issued defined the broad principles on which the new state would be based. Needless to say that except for their general nature they mostly followed in practice the British model.

But the declaration was meant for foreign consumption. It was to make it easy for other powers to help the colonists who now became Americans. The war had to be carried on and the latter half of 1776 found the colonial cause at a low ebb. The next year opened with bright prospects for the British which however did not remain steady. The blundering of the British Generals came to the aid of the Americans. Washington knew that in prolonging the war lay his salvation. Thus though the British were able to win considerable success, General Burgoyne was cut off and he had to surrender at Saratoga in October 1777.

The battle was now half won. France had been on the look out for an opportunity to join the Americans, but she had no wish to take part in a losing struggle at he end of which she might find herself in difficulties. The surrender of Saratoga proved that there were reasonable hopes of American success and she found it now easy to join them without any misgivings. Within six months France joined America and England found that she was engaged in that ever lasting struggle against the French.

For the first time for many years the British very nearly lost their mastery of the seas. The French fleet was able to reach safely the American coast and the West Indies. Not much actual harm was done but the signs were ominous. In 1779 Spain declared War on England and a combined Franco-Spanish fleet appeared in the English Channel. Again nothing was accomplished but the British had had a fright. A few American ships were busy attacking English trade on the high seas and even entered the English waters. Of course the British were able to hold their own against Spain and France. The siege of Gibraltar dragged on for three long years but the Spaniards never came even near taking it.

But the French were bent upon defeating their rivals. They made many successful voyages to the American coasts and were emboldened to send French soldiers to America. Six thousand French soldiers safely reached America in 1880. Washington was still hard pressed. Clinton and Cornwallis were making short work of American resis tance when in 1781 the blow fell. Cornwallis however was compelled to seek shelter in Yorktown. Washington now advanced to Yorktown by land and the French fleet which

had again been successful in its voyage across the Atlantic besieged it from the sea. Cornwallis was doomed. Too late a British fleet, inferior in number, weak in command, arrived. But the French and the Americans between them made Cornwallis's position hopeless and he surrendered at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. So far as the colonists were concerned the war was at end, they had won their independence. It was not however till November, 1782 that a treaty was formally signed recognising the independence of the American colonies. The boundaries of the new state undid the Quebec Act and the districts about which there had been so much heart-burning were included, the Mississippi forming its natural boundary on that side.

But Spain and France had not joined the war simply in order to help the Americans. The loss of the American colonies was a blow to England and as such they were glad to have taken a part in it. But they had their own axes to grind. Spain wanted Gibraltar but the British were able to defend it successfully till 1782. In April, 1782? Rodney, the British admiral, completely defeated the French fleet in the battle of Saintes in the West Indies.

The only British loss had been Minorca in the Mediterranean. The battle of Saintes however was more than a compensation, it delivered a blow from which the French could not recover.

The conduct of the war had been rendered difficult by the Armed Neutrality of the North, an alliance between Russia, Austria, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden formed in 1780. These powers had complained about the alleged British high-handedness on the sea in interfering with their trade. They resented the British claim to search every ship, enemy or neutral. They further asserted that the

British could only prevent neutral states from trading in the munitions of war with the enemy. They refused to recognise the British blockade of French posts—involving the stoppage of all trade, even neutral—unless the British were keeping up forces enough to make it impossible for the French ships to leave port. The British refused to accept these terms but the threat of clash with the League naturally made them more careful in their dealings with neutral shipping lest they should add to their list of enemies.

At last in 1783 peace was made with France and Spain as well. England had to cede Minorca in the Mediterranean and Florida in North America to Spain, France gained Senegal in Africa and St. Lucia in the West Indies. They resented the French and Spanish successes in the war and the British allowed them to remain in their hands.

Thus the first British experiment in colonial government came to an end. English statesmen now looked on colonial ventures with some suspicion. The separation of the United States of America was considered to be due to the large amount of freedom that they had enjoyed. The British still believed that the colonial trouble had been due to their attempt at regulating colonial trade. These two principles guided British policy for almost half a century after the Declaration of Independence. They had lost the first British Empire, would there be another to succeed it?

But the world of political experiment was richer by the success of the American rebellion. A great republic had come into being based on democratic principles hardly applied in their entirety elsewhere. The final form of the new state—a federation in which the federating states

parted with some of their powers in order to create a central government at Washington—was also a new experiment in the modern age. The people had really come to enjoy their full rights in the United States of America. Would they succeed in this bold experiment?

CHAPTER XXXV

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA.

The Dawn of the New Age.—When Britain was engaged in spreading her dominions overseas and was confronted by the rivalry of the other European Powers there were forces at work which silently transformed the life of the people in a way which placed them in the forefront of the civlized nations. Britain lost her vast colonies in America but she still retained extensive territories in the new and the old world. The trade with these dominions was threatened during the Napoleonic wars, when the commercial relations with the continent were cut off. But on account of the factory system and the application of steam in industries Britain managed to win a position for herself in the economic field. The growth of big industries has not only saved her but has opened a new chapter in the history of the world. A revolution no less potent than the French Revolution profoundly changed the social and political activities of the nation. The modern age has been called the industrial age and the main currents of this new age originated in the eighteenth century and the main centre of these currents was Britain. Before the advent of this revolution England was primarily an agricultural country and the people lived mainly in villages. The concentration of the labourers in factory towns has given rise to the development of the urban areas and England to-day is a predominantly industrial country. New problems of

social and political life have arisen on account of the change of character of the people and their redistrubution in the new places. The villages were deserted and new towns grew up in the industrial centres. The population migrated from the south and the east to the north and the west. The industrial development made it possible to organise corporate life and the labourers began to realise their power of organisation. Coal and steam produced the new democracy which distinguishes the modern age from the ancient and the medieval. Men have acquired a consciousness of their importance in the social organisation and they have come to share the burden of government. They refused to be treated as tools in the hands of the big landlords and at present no Government can venture to ignore popular opinion. In fact Government is now controlled by the people. The king has receded into the background and the people have the entire field to themselves. The English democratic life has produced a change in the viewpoint of other peoples.

Since the death of Elizabeth to the accession of George III the forces which caused the Industrial Revolution were slowly gathering momentum. The discovery of the new world and the sea route to India opened out the vast possibilities of foreign trade. The English entered into competition with other nations and in their anxiety to capture new markets they started the policy of exploiting the weaker nations. Their main policy was to increase the national wealth by encouraging exports. They wanted to retain the monopoly of trade specially in their own dominions. By the manipulation of the tariff system they tried to exclude competition.

The Navigation Acts and the wars with Spain and France were devices to help English trade. The great economist Adam Smith in his economic studies tried to explain that the economic progress of the country would have been more rapid if military and naval success had been used merely to secure success to colonial markets on equal terms with other countries. This was a new doctrine and it took English statesmen some time to understand its meaning. But in the meanwhile the old policy worked to keep out the foreign countries from the market by heavy tariffs, to outrage Ireland, to alienate the American colonies and to breed international bitterness. Money flowed into the country and we are told that capital accummulated as never before in the world's history, so that when the Industrial Revolution came England invested her money in new enterprises.

Agrarian Revolution.—The economic changes in the eighteenth century, which were transforming the life of the people, may be studied in three aspects. Changes were introduced in the methods of agriculture, in the process of industrial organisation, and in the means of transport and communication. Agriculture experienced the new impulse earlier. Improvement had been effected by draining the marshes in the seventeenth century, in some parts of the island. But the total gain to the land was not perceptible.

A new spirit came over the people when systematic efforts were made by landlords to improve the system of farming. On account of differences with his brother-in-law Walpole, Charles Townshend left the ministry in 1730 and then devoted his attention to agriculture. He got the seed of turnips from Germany and began to grow the

crops which not only enriched the soil by the process of rotation but ensured a regula supply of meat by keeping the cattle well-fed all through winter. Othei reformers followed in his footsteps and by their efforts people learnt the methods of fertilisation, the best ways of planting and hoeing, the rotation of crops and the improvement of breed of cattle and sheep. The scientific development of land increased the wealth of the people but the new methods of agriculture required wider stretches of fields for cultivation. This led to the system of enclosures.

The prevalent practice at the time was the division of arable land into strips scattered over the entire area of the village. These strips belonged to different owners and the boundaries of these plots had to be marked by a band of grass or by a furrow which involved some loss to the community. The open field system allowed the people the right to tend their flocks free and to cut their wood without payment. Besides the fields were managed by a council of villagers. The prospects of gain from sheep-farming suggested the plan of enclosing the fields and the influential landlords carried on the process through Parliament in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They managed to extend the system to about one-tenth of the agricultural land of England. The process was revived in the middle of the eighteenth and it continued down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The new scientific methods had increased the prospects of economic development, and the landlords were anxious to consolidate their blocks or to appropriate the waste lands. Some tried to consolidate their holdings by mutual agreement, but the process was tedious and it was very

often difficult to arrange. So the influential landlords who had a great share in the course of Parliamentary legislation got bills passed through Parliament without difficulty. A petition would be submitted to Parliament to enclose the village fields so that he could fence the area allotted to him and cultivate it as he thought best. Between 1760 and 1840 about 2500 villages were enclosed. The old system broke down altogether and a large number of small tenants were ejected from their holdings.

Whenever a landlord desired a measure to help him to enclose his fields the small tenants who were forced to part with their holdings received compensation in other places. But these small tenants did not possess the means or the ability of the big landlords and had to suffer in competition with them. So these plots had to be sold and the old tenants became the hired labourers. The disappearance of the small landowners created a gap between the big capitalists and landlords and the wage-earning labourers. The rural life underwent a great transformation by this process as the old landowners ceased to be the natural leaders of the villages. But the main object of the enclosure system was the production of more wealth and in this it was successful.

The fate of the poor man however became miserable. He lost his old rights over the village common and was driven out of his small plot of land. He had now to depend upon labour for the maintenance of his family. But he was not assured of a minimum wage. A bill was introduced by Samuel Whitbread with the support of Fox to fix a minimum wage but this was thrown out by Parliament at the instance of Pitt. The landlords were not prepared to concede the bare necessities and

to add to the troubles of the labourers the Berkshire Magistrates, meeting at Speenhamland in 1765, decided that instead of forcing the landlords to pay adequate wages to the labourers the rate-payers should be asked to increase their poor-rates so that the labourers might be able to maintain their families. This policy encouraged the practice of lowering the wages and the landlords grew rich at the expense of the community. The labourers on the other hand lost their sense of self-respect as they had to flatter the poor law authorities for doles. They could not maintain themselves with their wages however hard they might work. This vicious system continued till the Poor Law Commission reported and a new law was passed in 1834.

The Industrial Revolution. The commercial prosperity of England led to new inventions for turning out goods more quickly and at a cheaper rate. Three conditions are necessary for the introduction of new mechanical inventions. There should be demand for the articles to be produced by new mechanism, there should be men enough possessed with technical skill to carry out the ideas of the inventor and there should be men with scientific knowledge to think of new devices. The ancient world knew of very few machines and in the Middle Ages some mechanism was invented, such as windmills and water wheels for pumping water and grinding grain. People also came to know of the art of making cannon and guns and the press. There was a faint glimmering of the dawn of the new age which actually was ushered in in the eighteenth century. Whatever industry there was in England was due to the enterprise of the foreign intruders. The weaving industry was introduced by the Flemish settlers, and was

improved by the Huguenots from France and the Dutchmen from Holland who came in the train of William of Orange. These foreigners started the production of finer types of cloth, silk, calico and also pottery and glass. In the weaving industry England did not achieve very great success, as she had a strong rival in India. "The English operatives could neither spin or weave as finely as the native workers in India" says Prof Ramsay Muir, "and could not produce a cotton thread firm enough to be used as warp". The spinning was very crude and it took five men to spin to keep a weaver fully engaged.

It was the cotton industry that utilised the new inventions for production on a larger scale. India was the original home of cotton industry, and the main item of business of the East India Company was the import of cotton goods from India. Cotton manufacture started in Manchester in 1641 but the outturn was very coarse and could not stand in competition with Indian goods. The first invention which improved the industry was that of the flying shuttle by Kay (1733). Then some devices were made for spinning more rapidly and automatically. But the most important was the "Spinning Jenny" invented by James Hargreaves, a weaver and carpenter, who noticed that a spinning wheel upset by his wife continued to spin. From this phenomenon the idea suggested to him that a number of spindles could be operated by one wheel. He made a frame with eight spindles and eight threads could thus be spun at a time (1764). The name of the machinery was given as a compliment to his wife Jenny. People became so very jealous of him that they destroyed the first machine by entering into his house. But the inventor migrated to another town and further improved the mechanism so that a hundred threads could be spun at once. His jennies

were very much in demand and within a short time he succeeded in making his fortune.

The next step was the application of water power to work the frame. The author of this was a barber and wigmaker named Richard Arkwright who set up a number of factories and became a millionaire. The system was further improved by a young man named Samuel Crompton. He invented what is known as the Spinning Mule by which stronger and finer thread could be spun more cheaply and rapidly. The inventor did not take out any patent for his machine which is used even now for the purpose of spinning and consequently he died a poor man. Cotton industry began to prosper and by 1813 there were no less than 2400 power looms employed in England. The yarn produced on such a large scale suggested the invention of an automatic weaving machine and a clergyman named Edmund Cartwright manufactured a machinery for the purpose although it was very clumsy to handle. His plan had to be improved in order that it might receive wide acceptance.

The cotton factories which were set up as a result of these inventions were at first worked by means of water power. The factories were therefore built along swift rivers and streams. But within a short time a more effective method was found when James Watt invented the steam engine (1769). In fact a kind of steam engine was in use for pumping out water in the mines. Watt, a maker and repairer of scientific instruments at the University of Edinburgh improved the mechanism and his invention was employed first in the mines and then applied to the mills. In the year 1789 the year of the beginning of the French Revolution steam engine was first applied to a cotton mill.

The new inventions gave England an advantage over other nations. She attained her prosperity, long before other nations could adopt the new methods of production.

Iron and coal. The second feature of the Industrial revolution was the greater use of iron and coal. Iron was necessary for manufacturing purposes but it could not be had in plenty on account of the crude method of smelting with charcoal. Wood was extensively used for fuel and for tools. But in 1760 coal was used for smelting at the Carron works in Scotland and its use was adopted more extensively henceforth. The age of iron commenced practically with the erection of an iron bridge across the Severn in 1779.

The use of coal transformed the outlook of the people. Coke was first used for domestic purposes. It was found that the supply of coal was unlimited whereas wood from which charcoal was obtained was likely to be exhausted. On account of the denudation of the forests the iron trade had declined till it was one-third of what it had been before. But the use of coal revived the iron industry in England in course of time which became the leading industry of the island.

Improvements in Communications. The trade of a country can not thrive unless there be means of transporting goods from place to place. The raw materials and the manufactured articles have to be taken to the places where they are required. Before the eighteenth century the roads did not exist in order and the goods had to be carried mainly on the back of pack-horses. This did not facilitate trade. France and Holland were far ahead of England in this matter. But during the eighteenth century efforts were made to improve the roads. A Scottish

engineer named John McAdam made roads harder by using broken stone. Thousands of miles of roads were macadamised and over them the coaches and wagons could move more quickly. The roads paid their own cost by collecting tolls at places by the use of turnpikes.

The navigable waterways were deepened and made more useful by means of locks. Their utility was increased by the excavation of canals which connected the water-courses. The first canal was dug at the instance of the Duke of Bridgewater between Worsey and Manchester. There were about 2,000 miles of canals by the end of the century. These canals were very useful for the transportation of goods. The cost of carriage was greatly reduced and heavy articles could be easily carried. Coal was taken to the industrial centres at cheap cost and the process of industrialisation made rapid progress on account of these facilities.

The most important invention of the period was the manufacture of steam locomotive. The first locomotive was built by a man named Richard Trevithick and later on the engineers in the loco-mines applied themselves to find out a means of easily transferring coal from mine to market. The devices of the coal-fields were perfected by George Stephenson who may be called the father of the steam locomotive as applied to railways. The first locomotive to drive on railways was used in 1830. Great improvements have been effected since then but the invention of Stephenson was a marvel of the age when the chief means of transport was the stage-coach.

The international trade still depended upon the winds. But the employment of steam engine for propelling boats was tried by Robert Fulton a young American artist then

living in Paris. His invention however did not receive much encouragement and steam navigation was not sufficiently developed before 1850. Henry Bell's *Comet* was the first steamboat to appear in England. Her first trip was undertaken on the Clyde in 1812. These changes in the method of production and the means of transport created a new epoch in the history of the world. New industries arose, mills were erected, and production was organised on a large scale. No other country could compete with England in supplying commodities at such a cheap price and therefore she retained her supremacy in the world market.

The industrialisation of England gave rise to a number of problems which seriously affected the life of the people. The landlords invested their capital in the industries and the landless labourers found employment in the factories. The crowding of a large population in industrial centres was not always productive of good. The herding together of men and women led to immorality and the capitalists paid no attention to the welfare of the workers. Their main object was to produce the largest quantity at the minimum cost and they regarded labour as a marketable commodity, the price of which was determined by the question of supply and demand. The state did not interfere in the relations between the capital and labour as the theory of *laissez faire* was the most acceptable theory. The factory system supported by the doctrine of non-interference brought immense wealth to the country.

Society in the Eighteenth Century. The English society changes very slowly. England in the Eighteenth century was almost the same as in the previous centuries.

The village was the main centre with the squire and the landlord as the leading figures. Most of the rural activities were in the hands of the justices of peace. The village parson interested himself in the affairs of the people along with the landlords. The industrial life of the country was pre-eminently rural as the industries were worked by hand in the cottages. Spinning was done by women at home in their leisure hours, the weavers of coarse and fine cloth remained in the village and so the clock-makers and other craftsmen. The villages were mostly self-contained having their own carpenters, ironsmiths, wheelwrights and masons. For the ordinary needs of the people the pedlars moved from village to village. There were peace and plenty in the villages and the rural folk did not care much for the outside world or the affairs of the Government. They were interested only "in the human drama of their cwn village set amid its surrounding fields and woods, with its traditions, its ghost stories, its neighbourliness, its feuds, and its shrewd, ignorant rustic comment on the mysterious world beyond." The newspaper did not disturb their placidity. The villagers were content with their lot and they were attached to their landlords as their patrons and benefactors.

The life of the people in the villages was guided by the teachings of the Anglican clergy who appealed to the reasonableness of Christianity and did not lay any emphasis on dogma or emotionalism. The parson was an important figure in the village and he was very often a justice of the peace. The sons of the squires had joined the order with a view to enjoy the property of the church. The cultured young members of the aristocratic

families did not think it beneath their dignity to accept the work of the church, as thereby they enlarged the parsonage into a lesser manor-house and with their knowledge of the world they helped to remove a large amount of the superstitions of the people. It has therefore been said that the Anglican Church took a great share in the civilizing work of the Eighteenth Century. But the clergymen did not apprecite the exuberance of sentiments in religious practices and did not interest themselves in the affairs of the poor. They were cold, and their main idea was to illumine the intellect and not to rouse up feelings. These defects were felt by a few enthusiastic evangelists who created a new wave of emotional fervour by an appeal to the sense of sin. John Wesley (1703—91) preached with uncommon devotion among the masses for the salvation of their souls. The Methodist movement which he inaugurated was looked down upon by the Established Church and the respectable classes who had no sympathy with the convulsions, agonies and raptures created at the religious meetings. But the common people were carried away by the flood of emotionalism and were touched by the new method of conversion which they believed came as a sudden personal assurance of salvation, bringing new life and control over sin. The revivalist movement increased the number of the dissenters, and in course of time the new spirit led to the development of radicalism among the working men. The poor acquired a sense of self-respect and began to appreciate the advantages of a democratic religious and educational organisation of their own. The zeal of the reformers stimulated the clergymen in the Established Church but their chief achievement was the enlistment

of a number of eminent laymen in the service of humanity.

The humanitarian movement was the direct result of the sympathy created for the sufferings of the humble folk in the different spheres of life. A young Yorkshire man named William Wilberforce came under the influence of the evangelists and he became a leader of the anti-slavery movement. He was an intimate friend of Pitt and with his help he succeeded in abolishing the inhuman system. An Abolition Society was founded in 1787. An interesting case had been decided by an English judge a few years ago declaring it illegal to retain a slave in England or in any English colony. A negro slave named Somersett was brought to England by his master and some reformers applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The case was tried by the Chief Justice Lord Mansfield who enunciated the rule that slavery was so odious and unnatural that unless there was a positive law permitting it, it must be held to be illegal. The slave was therefore set free and henceforth any slave setting foot in England or a British colony became free. The number of these freed men became so great that a colony was founded for them at Sierra Leone in West Africa (1788). The English had obtained the right of selling slaves by the Asiento Treaty of 1714, and they had amassed great wealth by this trade. But the appeal of the reformers went straight into the hearts of the people and the slave trade was abolished in 1807.

Education had made little progress in this period. The grammar schools and the public schools were not following any systematised standard of education. In the grammar schools there was sufficient scope for the

development of individual character. These were the places where the sons of the farmers were educated, but the rich endowed the public schools for their own sons and in these schools there was no discipline. At home the boys were strictly under control. The facilities for secondary education were inadequate and the large number of boys made up the lack of education by accepting apprenticeship in some trade. The system was very hard for the poor children who had very few friends to look after them. But in many cases the children made their fortune by enlisting the good-will of their masters. For higher education there were the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The number of scholars in those places had declined considerably since the Stuart period. There were certain galling restrictions regarding admission; the Dissenters were not allowed to join, and teaching was mainly in the hands of the clergymen. The individual colleges tried to perform the University work and they on their part did not maintain high academic ideals. The Universities enjoyed full autonomy and had no fear of interference from the King or Government. Government did not provide grants either for university or school education. For the children of the poor a school was started by Robert Raikes of Gloucester in 1780. The school at first used to meet on Sunday, the only day the children were free. Later on schools for them were held on week days. The teaching was not at all satisfactory as it was in the hands of old women who taught the alphabet in cottages. The humanitarian bodies gradually came in to extend the education of the people.

Another reform of the time was the improvement of the penal system. The prisons were very carelessly managed as they were farmed out to gaolers who wanted

to make some profit from the prisoners, specially the debtors. John Howard began to organise a movement for improving the lot of the prisoners. He carried on his activities from 1773 to 1790 and in this period a number of evil practices were removed. The attention of the people was drawn towards the system of punishment and the methods followed in the houses of detention.

The changes in the industrial life brought new problems in society. The rural life was disturbed by the migration of the workers to the factories. But there they were still under the control of the rich landlords who transferred their capital to new ventures. The labour was sweated and the wages were not sufficient for the maintenance of their families. The cottage industries were displaced by the factories and large amount of wealth flowed into the country from foreign trade. The situation thus created upset the distribution of the population from the fishing centres and agricultural fields to industrial areas. Morality of the workers in the factories suffered on account of hard labour and crowding of men and women in hovels. The burden of the people increased as they had to pay for the maintenance of the poor out of the local rates. The rich became richer and the poor went from bad to worse. No reform was attempted in this sphere till the reformation of the constitution in 1832. The English society remained throughout the century as a society under the iron rule of the rich landlords. Some reforms were talked of towards the end of the eighteenth century but the Revolution in France prevented the carrying out of any measure.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Europe on the eve of the Revolution. Europe in the Middle Ages was a feudal Europe, the landlords enjoying all the privileges and the peasantry being treated as serfs. In some countries the benevolent monarchs alleviated the miseries of the common people by liberal measures but the powers in the state were still vested in the higher classes. The nobility enjoyed high offices, were exempt from taxes, and kept the peasantry completely under their control. In France the aristocracy flocked round the court at Versailles, lived beyond their means, and got heavily involved in debt. It has been remarked that they passed through progress to power, and through privilege to vanity. They became parasites living upon the earnings of the hard-working peasants. They sold away their property but did not part with their feudal privileges. The positions in the state or the church were filled by them and they indulged in all the pleasures then available. Some of them patronised art and literature and thereby came in contact with the liberal movements in other parts of Europe. The cultured people in Paris met in the Salons, discussed with the intellectual persons the new speculations in philosophy or the new landmarks in the world of thought. A number of scholars produced books which created a ferment in Europe. The French people were not only very progressive in their thoughts they were also more prosperous th-

the people in other parts of the continent. It is on account of this that the new ideas of democracy were very readily imbibed by the people.

The thinkers who influenced the French in the Eighteenth century were many, but of them four names may be mentioned; Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau. Montesquieu (1689—1755) studied the constitution of England and in his famous book *The Spirit of Laws* he made a scientific and historical inquiry about the characteristics of the states. The English system appealed to him and his book created a new spirit among the French people. Voltaire (1694-1778) was a critic of the church. He exposed the foibles of the church by his witty composition. The church was an enemy of the freedom of thought and by pressing the government to maintain consorship it proved a stumbling block in the way of intellectual progress. The writings of Diderot (1713-1784) on various topics included criticism of the existing institutions and information on subjects likely to broaden the outlook. He was the leader of the Encyclopædists. But the man who influenced French thoughts sufficiently was Jean Jaques Rousseau (1715 1778) A man of rich imagination he impressed in his epoch-making book *Social Contract* the necessity of restoring to man his natural rights. The book opens with the passage "Man was born free, he is now everywhere in chains." His main theme was that covereignty lay in the people and that Govornment is the instrument of the sovereign. His book published in 1761 preached the doctrine of "Equality, fraternity and liberty." The French opinion turned towards the philosophy interpreted by the authors and made the people feel that their salvation lay in their hands.

The new ideas propounded by the philosophers created an intellectual ferment which spread over the different countries of Europe. Ideas moulded the destinies of nations. People were no longer satisfied with their lot and they wanted to take the common affairs of the state into their hands. The acute disparity in social life and the economic causes produced a great discontent ; and when it was fanned by the writings of the philosophers France was thrown into a conflagration.

The Beginning of the Revolution. The immediate cause of the Revolution was the financial bankruptcy of the state. Louis XVI who came to the throne in 1774 inherited the vast debts of his grandfather. The expenditure of his own court was excessive. He was a well-intentioned prince and he had a genuine desire to reform the state of affairs. But his queen, Marie Antoinette, daughter of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, was wilful and unsympathetic. She could not enter into the feelings of the French people and was not prepared to allow the spirit of modern thoughts encroach upon the citadel of the Ancient Regime. Besides this she had alienated the people by her frivolity and extravagance.

The king had appointed an economist named Turgot to the cotrol of the finances with a view to bring about an improvement. Turgot was an eminent writer belonging to the group known as the Physiocrats. His policy was to curtail expenditure and to develop public wealth by removing unnecessary restrictions on trade, and industries. The privileged classes stoutly opposed his reforms and refused to pay taxes when he tried to abolish the compulsory enrolment in the militia, to remove restrictions on trade, and to commute *corvee* or forced labour on the public roads for a small tax, when

he was Intendant of the Limousin. But when he became a minister he thought of carrying the reforms by Royal decrees. But according to the French practice all edicts had to be registered by Parlaments, which were close corporations of the privileged classes, and therefore opposed to all reforms. Their opposition was overborne by a *lit de justice* (bed of justice) issued by the King. In this way old trade-guilds and corvees were abolished. But Turgot could not carry his reforms in all directions. He was frustrated in his project of extending local self-government. The reactionary party led by the Queen forced the king to dismiss Turgot. His methods did not appeal to the people as he had resorted to absolutism and did not seek popular support. There was therefore no enthusiasm at the struggle against privileges.

The next Finance Minister Necker (1776-81) was a Genevese banker. During his administration France was involved in the American War of Independence and consequently the expenditure increased, which he met by raising loans. But he attempted to effect economy by taxing the privileged classes. His proposals were opposed by the interested parties and when he was confronted by insurmountable difficulties he tried to educate the public about the situation by publishing a pamphlet on the "Account of the Finances" which exposed the extravagance of the Court. For this bold action Necker was dismissed and his successors in office failed to improve the situation. The financial condition of France was terrible when the king recalled Necker and summoned the States-General in 1789.

The States-General. It was an old feudal institution of France but had not met since 1614. It consisted

of three chambers representing three orders, *viz.*, the clergy, nobility and the commons known as the *Tiers etat*. The deputies of the three orders were duly elected, the first two directly from the privileged classes and the third by secondary election from the common people. The representatives of the common people were numerically more than equal to the total representatives of the two other orders. The instructions of the electors showed that there was a general desire that there should be a responsible ministry. The common people wanted a single chamber, equal taxation, abolition of feudal dues, local privileges, liberty of the press, personal liberty, inviolability of the deputies, abolition of the *lettres de cachet*, control of the finances by the States-General and reduction of pensions and sinecures. The other orders agreed to most of these reforms, but there was difference of opinion in such matters as single chamber and equality of taxation. The king opened the States-General on the 5th May, 1789. The *Tiers etat* insisted that the three chambers should meet together, and that there should be voting by heads and not by chambers. In the beginning the king hesitated, the *Tiers etat* refused to do any business till they were joined by the deputies of the other chambers. But when they did not agree to the joint session the *Tiers etat* with the support of a few noble men and lower clergy declared themselves the National Assembly. The orders of the king were defied. This was the beginning of the Revolution. The king in utter dismay called a Royal Session on the 23rd June. The Deputies of the *Tiers etat* were not allowed to enter their usual meeting place on the 20th, on the

plea that the hall was being prepared for the royal session. The deputies then withdrew to a neighbouring tennis court at Versailles, and there they took an oath that they would not separate till they had drawn up a constitution for France. The king in the Royal Session failed to assuage the feelings of the third estate who under the leadership of Comte d' Mirabeau refused to leave the hall and declared that their persons were inviolable. The representatives of the other chambers changed their opinion and they gradually came to join the commons, and ultimately the king issued the necessary commands. The States-General was thus converted into the National Assembly by the strong determination of the representatives of the common people.

The king felt greatly humiliated and lost his faith in Necker. He was planning to retrieve his position by some drastic measures. He turned towards the queen and his brother Comte d' Artois who had no sympathy with the popular movement for advice. The soldiers were gathered near Versailles and Paris. The National Assembly at the instance of Mirabeau carried an address to the king for the removal of the troops (July 9), But the king in his anger dismissed Necker and his colleagues who were favourably disposed towards the reforms. The people of Paris got excited at the high-handedness of the king. They organised resistance to the autocratic rule. In order that the king might not crush the popular movement for a liberal constitution they marched towards *Hotel des invalides* and the Bastille, the principal store-house of arms. The fall of the Bastille on the 14th July was considered as a great

triumph for the people. Frightened by the excesses of the mob Louis XVI recalled Necker.

On the fall of the Bastille the revolutionary spirit spread throughout the country. All the vestiges of feudalism were rudely swept away by the frenzied mob. In utter dismay the supporters of the Ancient Regime fled from the country. Among them was the king's brother Comte d' Artois. The National Assembly now directed all its energies to draw up a new constitution. It abolished all feudal customs and forced the king to agree to their plan of reformation which aimed at a removol of all class distinctions. But the reactionary advisers of the king proved to be sufficiently strong to confound the nationalists. At a banquet on October 1 the tri-colour flag was insulted by the royalists. The mob attacked the palace at Versailles and compelled the king to move to Paris along with the Assembly (October 6).

The National Assembly had now the complete control over the affairs of the country. A new constitution was drafted but on certain important points the King was not prepared to concede.

Intervention of the foreign powers. The new constitution introduced great reforms but it weakened the authority of the executive. The discipline in the Army and Navy became loose. The church policy created religious feuds and the leaders were divided over the foreign policy. Mirabeau was anxious to keep France free from foreign war but on account of the position of the princes in Alsace foreign intervention was apprehended. The Assembly resolved to uphold the sovereignty of France in Alsace but was ready to pay monetary

compensation for the loss of the feudal rights. The princes appealed to the Diet of the Empire for the redress of their grievances. The Comte d' Artois and the emigres also invoked the assistance of the monarchs of Europe in the cause of monarchy and the feudal system. The queen expected that her brother Leopold of Austria would help her. Mirabeau advised the king to keep aloof from intervention. He preferred civil war to the intervention of the foreign powers. The king did not accept his advice and he was also suspected by the people for his moderate views. On his death in April 1791 the country and the king lost a wise statesman. The Parisian mob did not allow the king and queen to go to the church of St. Cloud in May. This led the Emperor of Austria to issue a circular to all the crowned heads calling attention to the position of the King of France. The king and his queen made an attempt to run away from France. They were caught on the way and the king was forced to accept the new constitution (September 21, 1791). The crisis was averted for the time being, but the republican party got up an agitation to depose the king. The Republicans were, however, overpowered by the party of order and Danton and Marat, leaders of the Republican party fled to England. Leopold now issued the manifesto of Padua in which he urged the sovereigns of Europe to take up the cause of Louis XVI. He held a conference with the King of Prussia at Pilnitz where the two rulers signed the declaration of Pilnitz urging the other monarchs to maintain monarchical government in France (August 27, 1791).

The new constitution drawn up by the Constituent Assembly was a great experiment in complete democracy. The elections to the new Legislative Assembly took place

in the spring of 1792, and it was found that a large number of radicals known as the Girondins had captured the Assembly. They greatly resented the threat of German invasion. The patriotic sentiments of the people were awakened to prepare for a fight with the Austrians and Prussians. It was going to be a struggle between the monarchists and republicans, the democrats and the privileged classes. As soon as the Girondins obtained control over the government they demanded of the Emperor of Austria to withdraw the Austrian troops from the frontier and to expel the emigres from his territories. But the Emperor did not pay any heed to these demands and with a view to save themselves from the monarchists the Girondins persuaded the King to declare war against Austria and Prussia. (April 20, 1792). The French in their enthusiasm for the new principles of liberty and equality marched towards the front. But their troops were not sufficiently organised, and it was believed that the king was secretly in league with the enemy. So the campaign proved a failure and the enemy entered the French territories. To add to the fury of the French people the Duke of Brunswick, the Commander-in-chief of the allied armies issued a proclamation to the effect that he was coming to France to put an end to the anarchy in the country and to restore the full authority of the king. He threatened to destroy the city of Paris if any harm befell any member of the royal family. (July 25, 1792). This foolish manifesto proved the alliance between the king and the foreign monarchs, and the French people in a body rose against the danger from outside.

A mob invaded the royal palace on the 9th August, the Swiss guards were massacred and forced the Assembly to suspend the king. A National Convention elected on manhood suffrage was called to draw up a new constitution.

In this crisis of France Danton, the bold head of the Commune of Paris became the virtual dictator. Some of the old supporters of the revolution were not prepared to go so far. The Austrians on the other hand pressed upon France. They invested Verdun, and in their bewilderment the republicans carried out wholesale massacre of the royalists. The number of the victims of the September massacres was about 1,600. Danton tried to infuse new spirit into the French armies and the enemy received a check at Valmy (September 20). The same day the National Convention met and decreed the abolition of the kingship in France and proclaimed that France was a Republic.

The National Convention as a measure of self-defence decreed the perpetual banishment of the emigres and decided to bring the king to trial. Louis XVI was tried before the Convention in December and was found guilty by a majority of 387 against 334. He was executed on January 21, 1793. The interference of the foreign powers thus proved to be the death-knell of monarchy in France. But the position of France did not become safe thereby. The monarchists formed a grand coalition against the French Republic. Besides Austria and Prussia, England, Holland, Spain and Sardinia took up the cudgel on behalf of monarchical government. The Revolution in France became henceforth a European movement.

England and the French Revolution. The revolution in France was in the beginning looked upon in England as an echo of the English endeavours to reduce the absolute authority of the king. Sympathy was shown towards the revolutionists and clubs were formed in England to fraternise with the French patriots. The Whigs were sympathetic and Charles James Fox was an ardent supporter of the

revolution. But the September massacres created a revulsion of feelings. Edmund Burke, the champion of the Americans and the Indians, in his famous essay on *Reflections on the French Revolution* published at the end of 1790, warned the people against the revolution. He ruthlessly attacked the French people for their attempt to pull down the old and hallowed institutions and condemned those Englishmen who showed sympathy with them. His arguments were refuted by Thomas Paine in his *Rights of Man*. But the attitude of the British Government was considerably determined by the views of Burke and the subsequent development of affairs in France. Pitt had no desire to join the monarchists of Europe in suppressing the revolution. But when the French pushed into the Netherlands at the time of their war with the Austrians and declared the Scheldt open to international navigation in violation of the Treaty of Utrecht he was compelled to declare war against France. Although the English Government was not opposed to the principles of the revolution their action strengthened the hands of the reactionary party in Europe. All reform measures thought necessary in England were now held back for the purpose of fighting the French. Not only that, the liberty of speech and of the press was restricted and societies for the promotion of parliamentary reforms were suppressed by law. The Whig party was split up and only a small section led by Fox opposed the war with France and the reactionary measures adopted in England.

Pitt was not prepared for a war with France. But when the French revolutionists declared that it was their aim to destroy all monarchies and feudal institutions the English minister gave up his policy of peace. He protested against the throwing open the Scheldt to

commerce, against the invasion of the Dutch Netherlands and finally the execution of Louis XVI decided the course of events. The National Assembly anticipated the English by declaring war against them and the Dutch. An army was sent to Europe under the Duke of York to join the allies, and put the French in a desperate position. The English army laid siege to Dunkirk, and the French were forced to surrender several places. In their crisis they set up a Committee of Public Safety to direct the Government of the country. The Queen was executed on the 16th October, and then France was placed under the Reign of Terror. The people of France were compelled by the attitude of the European powers tc put up a stubborn fight in defence of their country. They drove the English from Dunkirk, and pushed back the Austrians and the Prussians. The English fleet at Toulon was defeated by the skill of a young General named Bonaparte who now rose to fame. Prussia was busy in Poland and the revolutionists in France were bent upon carrying their message of liberty beyond the borders of their country. The revolution threatened the existence of the orderly government in other countries. England was thrown into a state of panic. All societies and clubs showing sympathy with the revolution were suppressed, suspected foreigners were removed from England, and persons using strong language against the King or other institutions of the realm were given the harshest punishment. All endeavours after Parliamentary reforms were turned down and these movements were considered as unpatriotic. The Whigs forgot their differences with Pitt and with a few exceptions joined the ministerial party.

France witnessed the end of the Reign of Terror when her troops won victories against the foreign

armies. They overran the Dutch Netherlands and set up the Batavian Republic on a democratic basis. Prussia no longer willing to support the Austrian ambitions concluded the Treaty of Basel on April 5, 1795. Spain followed suit and signed a treaty on July 12. The coalition against France broke down and France under the Directory gave some hopes of a steady government. Her only enemies now were Austria, England and Sardinia. Pitt did not think it necessary to conclude peace with the revolutionists and to check any sympathetic movement in England passed the Treason Act and the Sedition Act. Austria continued the hostility with France, aided by the large amount of subsidies from England. The English expeditions to Holland and Belgium proved to be failures. But the expeditions to the West Indies were successful. The conquest of the French and Spanish colonies cost England very heavy as more than 40,000 persons perished there on account of the bad climate.

When England was involved in this war with the French troubles arose in Ireland, and the Irish insurgents expected to enlist the French help in their struggle for freedom. Pitt was prepared in these circumstances to make peace, but his proposals were not favourably received by the Directory as he demanded that the French should give up the Austrian Netherlands and withdraw from Italy. Austria, on the other hand, could not stand against the republican forces and in 1797 was compelled to sign the Treaty of Campo Formio. England was now left to fight alone.

The Great French War. The young Pitt was not fully aware of the position in which England was

placed in this hostility with France. He thought of diverting the energies of the French by sending expeditions to the distant colonies. But these expeditions did not affect the course of events in Europe. The elder Pitt succeeded in driving France out of Canada by his conquest in Germany, but the situation had changed and the French did not concentrate their forces in the distant parts.

They directed their efforts to drive the enemies of the Republic from the frontier of France and to establish governments in the neighbouring countries which would make republicanism safe. The combination of the great Powers of Europe was a great menace to them. So they fought strenuously to mintain their newly acquired political rights. England was drawn in the war out of anxiety for the safety of the privileged classes. The opening of the Scheldt was considered as prejudicial to the English commerce. Belgium was just opposite England and if all nations carried on trade with the continent through Antwerp and Ostend then English trade might suffer. It was on account of this that there was a treaty between the Powers to close the Scheldt to commerce of the nations. France did not like this restriction and declared war against England. At the outset the English tried to strengthen the hands of the enemies of France, helped Austria with money and sent expeditions to the colonies. In the course of the first three years (1793—95) they won a solitary victory in the English Channel. Lord Howe destroyed a French fleet engaged in conveying provisions into the harbour of Brest on the Glorious First of June, 1794. But the French had defeated the English at Toulon and attacked the Austrians in Italy. In the year 1797 England was faced with troubles on all sides. Prussia had already left the coalition and Austria being

unable to continue the war made peace. The strength of England lay in her navy and British sailors mutinied to get their grievances redressed.

The British navy consisted of men of various types: some came out of the love of adventure and liked the sea-life, but their number was not very large; majority of the men were pressed into the service, or came as quota-men supplied by the counties. They were recruited from undesirable elements and were not regularly paid. The pay they received was meagre considering the risks they underwent. Sometimes their pay was in arrears for years together, and their wives and children were put to great troubles for this delay. They were paid by tickets which had to be cashed at the Admiralty office, and to avoid the difficulties of cashing they sold the tickets to the tradesmen at reduced prices. The food they received on boat was bad and the sailors suffered from the rigours of strong discipline. The sailors under Admiral Alexander Hood at Spithead in the Portsmouth anchorage refused to set sail when ordered to meet the Brest Fleet (April 1, 1797) till their demands for an increase in pay and for its regular payment was granted. Although their requests were granted by the Admiralty delays took place in giving effect to the changes. The men losing faith in the honesty of the Admiralty mutinied once again on the 6th May, but they were quelled by the tactfulness of Admiral Howe. Another mutiny took place at the Nore at the instigation of a man named Richard Parker, who had been previously dismissed from the navy on the charge of immorality. The men under Admiral Duncan were influenced by the revolutionary societies and joined the mutineers (May, 1797). Admiral Keith was sent to deal with the situation and shortly the mutineers came back to their ships. Parker was hanged

and a few of his accomplices received examplary punishment.

The French had a plan of attacking England through Ireland. An expedition was despatched under General Hoche in December 1796, but the troops could not land on account of a fog and a storm. Then they wanted to attack the British Navy in combination with the Dutch and the Spanish Fleets. The English had already evacuated the Mediterranean when they could not stand against the French and the Spanish Fleets. But when the Spanish Fleet consisting of 27 ships were sailing to join the Brest Fleet they were confronted by the English Fleet under Admiral John Jervis off Cape St. Vincent (February 14, 1797). Through the manœuvering of Commodore Nelson the Spanish Fleet was dispersed and four ships were captured. And as a result of this defeat the French troops could not be conveyed to England. The same year in October the Dutch Fleet was destroyed by Admiral Duncan off Camperdown. The idea of a French invasion of England could not materialise. The French Directory had appointed the young General Napoleon to the command of the "Army of England." Napoleon however felt that the best way to attack England was to capture the British territories in the East.

Failing to effect a direct attack upon England Napoleon conceived the design of striking at her in the East. He formed a plan of first occupying Egypt and then proceeding through Palestine and Mesopotamia he would attack the English in India. With this object in view he sailed from Toulon in May 1798. He captured Malta from the Knights of St. John on the way and safely reached Alexandria. On July 21 he defeated the Egyptians at the

battle of the Pyramids and occupied Cairo, on the 25th. He became master of all Egypt and then planned the invasion of Syria. But in the meantime the English Fleet under Nelson reached Aboukir Bay in August, 1798. There he attacked the French fleet which was then lying at anchor. Of the French ships only two battleships and two frigates escaped and the rest were destroyed. Nelson became famous at this Battle of the Nile as he cut off the way of Napoleon. The French General marched towards the east with the object of attacking the Turks. But he was frustrated in this design as Admiral Sir Sidney Smith checked him at Acre (March to May 1799). The prospects of Napoleon's eastern campaign proved to be dismal. The affairs in France also were not quite satisfactory. Napoleon left the expeditionary forces to save the situation in France. But he could not carry his army with him. The risings in India to embarrass the English were crushed and the main leader Tipu Sultan was killed in action. The English succeeded with their vast naval resources to check the designs of Napoleon. They became masters of the Mediterranean and in 1801 another army under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie destroyed the French troops in Egypt. Napoleon's design to strike at England in the East proved a failure.

On his return to France Napoleon obtained supreme power in the state. During his absence in Egypt Pitt had persuaded Austria and Russia to join Britain in a Second Coalition. The French had occupied Switzerland and the greater part of Italy. The allies organised a plan of launching attacks in every front. England and Russia

would try to reconquer Holland, Austria and Russia, Italy and the Austrians would undertake to drive the French out of Germany. The English expedition to Holland under the Duke of York proved to be a great failure, but in Italy the French were defeated. The victories of Napolean were swept away by the driving forces of the allies till they were checked at Zurich in Switzerland. The Directory was losing ground when Napoleon returned and after a brilliant *coup d'etat* turned out the Government and established a new constitution with three consuls, of whom he became the first consul and thereby became the dictator of the Republic.

The first Consul directed all his energies in counteracting the forces of the allies. Crossing the great St. Bernard Pass which was till then considered insurmountable he dealt a crushing blow to the Austrians at Marengo (1800), and another French Army defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden in Germany shortly afterwards. The Austrians could not stand any more and submitted to the Treaty of Luneville in 1801. The second coalition was thus broken up and England was threatened by a combination of the northern states against the restrictions put upon their trade by England. The Armed Neutrality of the North organised at the instance of Tsar Paul of Russia was joined by Sweden and Denmark with a view to exclude the British trade from the Baltic. It was suspected that the fleets of the members of the Armed Neutrality might reinforce the French Fleets. So to deal with this danger a fleet was sent under Sir Hyde Parker with Nelson as second-in-command. Denmark was asked to allow the British

Fleet to the Baltic, but on their failing to comply with the demand the English attacked the Danes at Copenhagen. In this battle known as the Battle of the Baltic or Copenhagen Nelson disregarded the signal of of the Commander-in-chief by applying the telescope to the blind eye, and won a brilliant victory against the Danes who were now forced to abandon the Neutrality and to make terms with England. Tsar Paul was also murdered and consequently the Armed Neutrality was broken up when his successor Alexander I could not resist the offer of British friendship.

Both France and England felt exhausted after this long war lasting for about nine years since 1793. Pitt had gone out of office and his place in the Ministry had been taken up by Addington who had no desire to continue the war. He was anxious to settle the differences with France and signed the Treaty of Amiens on March 27, 1802. By this treaty each side agreed to restore the mutual conquests. But Great Britain retained Ceylon which she had taken from the Dutch and Trinidad which was in possession of Spain. France left Naples, restored Egypt to Turkey and acknowledged the independence of the Ionian Isles. The British had conquered very few places from other countries and had to restore Malta and Gozo to the Knights of St. John. France evacuated Naples but she retained all her conquests in the continent. The Austrian Netherlands and the territories to the left of the Rhine acknowledged French Government, the Batavian and the Helvetic Republics, and the Italians submitted to French control.

France therefore remained as powerful as before the treaty. But the peace thus arrived at was a temporary truce.

The revolutionary era no doubt came to an end and it was expected that France would pursue a policy of peaceful progress. The ambitions of Napoleon who now became the sole arbiter of France's destiny led to further troubles and Europe did not know peace so long as he dominated the French politics.

CHAPTER XXXVII

NAPOLEONIC WARS

Renewal of War. Neither Napoleon nor the English felt satisfied with the settlement of Amiens. Napoleon had in his mind the grand design of dominating over the whole of Europe, but England desired that the treaty should debar him from encroaching upon the territories of the other European states. The English did not evacuate Malta according to the terms of the treaty and did not like to retire behind the sea curtain. Napoleon on the other hand had schemes of expanding the oversea dominions, and reduced the rulers of Europe to the position of vassals of France. He consolidated his power during the period of peace. The rise of this soldier of fortune was phenomenal. He was born in Corsica of a poor family in 1769, and became a captain in the army at the age of twenty. In 1793 he drew the attention of the public by his services in expelling the English from the harbour of Toulon. During the mob-riot in Paris in 1795 he defended the National Convention and the next year he was put in command of the French Army in Italy. His military campaigns brought glory to France and on account of his brilliant successes the Coalition was broken up, and Austria was forced to make terms with France. During his absence from France in the Egyptian campaign the French affairs were in a serious position. The Directory proved itself to be incompetent and the French Army suffered defeats

at many places. A second coalition was formed against France and the popular feelings were roused against the Directory. Napoleon returned from Egypt at this stage and saved the prestige of France by breaking up the Second Coalition. The Directory was replaced by a Consulate of three consuls with Napoleon as the First Consul appointed for ten years. He enlised the popular support by removing all conventionalism and by forcing the allies to submit to the French terms. By the treaty of Amiens France not only concluded peace with England but was at peace with the world. Out of regard for his great ability in smashing the coalition against France he was made Consul for life. He became so popular that he was elected the Emperor of the French Republic for life and later on he communicated the revolution to other parts of Europe.

As a General and statesman there are few men in history who can stand by Napoleon. He was not an autocrat but he assumed all his powers with the support of the people. He tried to give a shape to, the ideals of the French Revolution and to combine with that the efficiency of administration. So long as he kept the people satisfied with his policy no body could dislodge him from his position. But when he went beyond his powers and strained the French patience too much he failed to command the influence that he had in the beginning. Moreover he ran roughshod over the national sentiments of other peoples which he had upheld as the main principles of the revolution and thereby he created bitter enemies in the continent. A formidable combination of the powers was formed against him and he was hurled from his pinnacle as rapidly as he rose into power.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens both England and France tried to pick holes in the agreement. The differences became so acute that Napoleon demanded the expulsion of the Emigres from British territories, and to suppress the criticism of his administration in the British Press. He also urged the evacuation of Malta and the recognition of his annexations in Italy and Switzerland. It was learnt from the official report on Egypt that Napoleon had further designs upon the East. Britain did not acquiesce in his demands and the British Ambassador was insulted by Napoleon in Paris. Considering the condition of things intolerable England declared war in May 1803. This war lasted till 1815 and as a result of this strenuous struggle Napoleon was expelled from Europe and taken as a prisoner to a distant island in the Atlantic.

The hostility of England towards France was not a new thing. They were rivals in the commercial field. They were competing for ascendancy in the newly acquired markets in the East as well as in America. France had been checked in her projects of expansion by her defeats in the Seven Years War. Her assistance to the rebellious colonists in America was greatly resented by England. It was considered a terrible blow to English commerce when France extended her influence over Belgium and Holland and the other parts of Europe. The aristocratic England was frightened at the prospects of the rise of a French colonial empire. So at the earliest opportunity the Treaty was broken and war was declared.

Napoleon's threat to invade England. The

declaration of war by England was a challenge to Napoleon. His plans of reconstructing France were held back on account of the English hostility. He wanted to retaliate by invading England. A magnificent army called "the Army of England" consisting of 100,000 trained soldiers was organised, and gathered together at Boulogne on the other side of the English Channel. But the British navy was too watchful to allow the French to cross the Channel. The main strength of England lay in her navy. There were a number of excellent admirals who had built up a strong defence against all foes of England. Napoleon thought that in some foggy days he would take over his troops across the Channel and attack the island. He waited long at Boulogne. His fleets could not move out of the harbours as they mere blockaded by the English fleets. The French harbour at Toulon in the Mediterranean was blockaded by the English Admiral Nelson and the harbour of Brest on the Atlantic by Cornwallis. The smaller harbours on the coasts of France and Spain were also blockaded. Napoleon thought that these blockades would not last very long and he devised the plan of taking his vessels towards the West Indies, and then after drawing the British blockading vessels he would come back and attack England. But in this plan he was outmanœuvered by the naval tactics of the British admirals,

Shortly after the declaration of war the English people felt the necessity of a strong man at the head of the Government. Addington could not retain their confidence and they desired the return of Pitt to power He was Prime Minister when war had been declared against France and managed to ward off the danger

from the British shores. His policy had been to stir up other powers against France and to aid them with money and detachments of troops, while the English navy was kept engaged in capturing the French colonies and those of their allies and in seizing the enemy trade. In this matter he followed in the footsteps of his great father who had saved England from the competion of of France. He had successfully stured the bark of English Government in the days of crisis and people now looked up to him when they were theatened by an invasion from France. Addingtion was not a strong man. There is a common saying comparing the two statesmen: "Pitt is to Addington what London is to Paddington".

Pitt was desirous of forming a national ministry which should include the Whigs under Fox. But George III hated Fox and the extreme Tories were not in favour of a coalition Government. So Pitt had to organise a ministry with the Tories alone. As soon as he came into office he initiated his old policy of dragging in the continental Powers into a coalition with England. He offered them substantial subsidies and the assistance of the British navy, but before the coalition came into being England won a great victory over the French on the seas.

Battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805). Invasion of England was not possible so long as the British navy remained strong on the seas. The English fleets had not only been guarding the coasts but they had blockaded the French fleets in their harbours. Nelson was guarding the French fleets off Toulon, Cornwallis off Brest and other places were similarly blockaded.

Napoleon had devised an ingenious plan of drawing the British fleets towards the West Indies and then turn back and engage them in the Atlantic while the French troops would cross over the Channel. The French Admiral Villeneuve with the Mediterranean fleet left Toulon in March, 1805 and persuaded a Spanish squadron in following him to the West Indies. He was to capture Jamaica and after strengthening the French garrisons there to come back to the European waters. As soon as the news of his escape reached England Nelson was despatched to pursue him. But when the English Admiral reached Trinidad he learnt that Villeneuve was on his way back to Europe. He could at once guess the tactics of the French and returned quickly to the English Channel. The French fleet met with an encounter off Ferrol and could not press on towards the English Channel. Napoleon's plan of a concentration in the Channel failed. Meanwhile Pitt's policy of organising a coalition with the European Powers had been effected. Napoleon was threatened both on land and on seas. Villeneuve lost the chance of scattering the British fleets. He was waiting at Cadiz when Nelson came out from Portsmouth with twenty-seven ships. On the 21st October the French and the British fleets were engaged in a naval battle outside Trafalgar. Nelson's fleets succeeded in sinking and capturing the majority of the French vessels. The battle raged furiously between noon and 5 P. M. Nelson was struck by a bullet and had the comfort to know that the British fleet had won a decisive victory. It is said he uttered before he expired: "Thank God, I have done my duty." Trafalgar established the British superiority on the seas.

Napoleon gave up all idea of invading England and henceforth the blockading operations did not become so difficult.

The Third Coalition. Pitt's plan was to stir up the European Powers against France. He persuaded Austria, Russia, Sweden and Naples to declare war against Napoleon. The Coalition was formed in 1805 when the allies were preparing for a great offensive. But before they could combine Napoleon had broken up the camp at Boulogne and marched straight to Austria. At Ulm he forced the Austrians to capitulate (October 18—20) and the next month he occupied Vienna. Crossing the Danube the French marched through Moravia and won a brilliant victory over the combined army of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz (December, 1805). Central Europe was now at the feet of the conqueror. He dictated the terms of peace and Austria had no other alternative than to submit to the humiliating Treaty of Pressburg.

Austria surrendered her territory in Italy, which she had conquered from the old Republic of Venice. Venetia, Dalmatia and Istria were added to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy. Tyrol was ceded to Bavaria which along with Wurtemberg and Baden were recognised as new kingdoms. The States of Western Germany were formed into a Confederation of the Rhine under the leadership of Napoleon. Taking advantage of this position Napoleon declared the abolition of Holy Roman Empire. His main object was to bring the Germans under his influence and fulfil the dream of stepping into Charlemagne's shoes. He is reported to have said: "I have formed some projects about Germany. It is there I will give a mortal blow to England. I will deprive her

of the continent; besides I have some ideas, not yet matured, which extend much further. European society must be regenerated—a superior power must control the other powers, and compel them to live at peace with each other; and France is well situated for that purpose."

The strain of the war was too much for Pitt to bear in his weak health. His plan of counteracting the influence of Napoleon had failed. When he received the news of Austerlitz he said "Roll up the map of Europe, it will not be wanted these ten years." The strenuous activities of the last twenty-two years shattered his health and he could not stand the shock of the defeat of the allies in Europe. He passed away in the forty-seventh year of his life on January 23, 1806. The death of this great statesman was considered as a national calamity in England. Though not a very successful war minister like his father he saved England in a great crisis by his able administration. He was respected for his genuine patriotism. Canning wrote about him:

"And shall not his memory to Britain be dear,
Whose example with envy all nations behold,
A statesman unbiassed by interest or fear,
By power uncorrupted, untainted by gold?"

After the death of Pitt the Government of Britain was placed in the hands of a Ministry of All the Talents under the leadership of Lord Grenville. The ministry included Fox and the Whigs. The exploits of Napoleon made Fox change his opinion and as Foreign Secretary he realised that England had no other alternative than to declare war. Fox was a noble-hearted man. He took up the cause of the oppressed Indians and his sympathy with the French

revolutionists cost him very dear. The Ministry of All the Talents lasted only for about a year and in this short period it became memorable for abolishing the slave trade. The poet Byron has given a handsome tribute to the memory of the two statesmen in the following passage:

"When Pitt expired in the plenitude of power,
Though ill success obscured his dying hour,
Pity her dewy wings before him spread,
For noble spirits "war not with the dead,"
His friends, in tears, a last sad requiem gave,
As all his errors slumbered in the grave;
He sank, an Atlas bending 'neath the weight
Of cares o'erwhelming our conflicting state;
When, lo! a Hercules in Fox appeared,
Who for a time the ruined fabric rear'd;
He, too, is fall'n, who Britain's loss supplied,
With him our fast-reviving hopes have died;
Not one great people only raise his urn,
All Europe's far-extended regions mourn."

The death of the two eminent statesmen in quick succession left England in the hands of Tories who could not inspire confidence. The Ministry of All the Talents resigned in 1807 and was followed by a number of short-lived ministries, under Portland (1807), Perceval (1809), and Liverpool (1812). Castlereagh and Canning were the two ablest statesmen of this period and they were not on good terms. It has been remarked by a writer; "In the main, war was carried on by a group of unimaginative Tory politicians, who showed no brilliance, but also showed no weakness."

Prussia first hesitated to join the allies; Napoleon had promised her some compensation if she remained

neutral but under the pressure of English influence she definitely joined the coalition. She resented greatly the organisation of the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussia had a plan of organising the North-German Confederation and as a counter-move to Napoleon's policy King Frederick William took up arms against the common foe of Europe. The two contending armies met at Jena and there the French won a decisive victory (October 14, 1806). The Prussians could not stand against the French attacks; they were defeated at Auerstadt, and fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the French. Napoleon made his triumphal entry into Berlin a fortnight after Jena. There the victor promulgated the Berlin Decrees on November 21, 1806 with the object of excluding English trade from the continent. The British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade, orders for the seizure of English subjects, goods and letters in any part under French control were issued; and the ships coming from the British ports or the ports of British colonies were forbidden to enter the waters within French jurisdiction or within the ports of her allies. At the time of the proclamation of these decrees, France had under her control Spain, Holland, Prussia, and Italy. Practically therefore the whole of Europe was closed to the English goods. The Continental System as it has been called had as its object to compel England to surrender, by cutting off her commerce. England's reply to this threat was the "Orders-in-Council" which wanted to capture all vessels trading with France and her allies and dependants. This involved the English in trouble with the neutral powers who did not like the interference of their trade. Russia had resisted the French advances till she

received a crushing defeat at Friedland and then Tsar Alexander weary of war submitted to the Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807). The Third Coalition was thus broken up. The Tsar became an ally of Napoleon and agreed to carry out the policy of the Berlin Decree. All the important Land Powers formed a combination against the Sea Power of England.

The Berlin Decree, however, could not reduce the trade of England. Napoleon could not effect the blockade of England but the English on the other hand was getting the neutral commerce of the world. In the secret terms of the Treaty of Tilsit it was arranged that Denmark, Sweden and Portugal should be forced to join the continental league against England. But by the continental system the European countries were debarred from trade with England and her colonies. This increased the prices of the goods produced in Europe, and consequently caused great irritation. Moreover the object of Napoleon was not fulfilled as he could not close the whole of the continent to English goods, neither could he prevent smuggling. Some of the allies of Napoleon revolted against the restrictions put upon their trade, and when Napoleon tried to use coercion he invited interference from England. Portugal was conquered by the French when she refused to submit to the Berlin decrees (1807) and the next year on the flimsiest plea the Spanish king was removed from the throne and in his place Napoleon's brother Joseph was made the king. Portugal and Spain appealed to England for help.

The Peninsular War. By the Treaty of Tilsit the monarchs of France and Russia had agreed to a re-arrangement of their territories. Russia was free to

annex Finland from Sweden, and Roumania from Turkey; and France was allowed to develop her own policy towards Denmark, Portugal and Spain. When Canning learnt of the secret terms of the Treaty of Tilsit, he asked the Government of Denmark to hand over the Danish fleet to Great Britain till the end of the war. As Foreign Secretary in the Portland Ministry Canning took the bold step of reducing the efficiency of Denmark as an adjunct of France. Denmark refused to accede to the demands of the English Government and as a result her capital Copenhagen was bombarded. The Danish Fleet were seized by the English (September, 1807.) The action of the English towards a neutral power can hardly be justified except as a political expediency. But the success of the English in getting under control the entire Danish fleet was considered by them a great blow to Napoleon. One writer says : "The seizure of the Danish Fleet, in fact, destroyed the whole Tilsit scheme, and robbed France of the fruits of her sacrifices, and Russia of the fruits of her perfidy." (R. B. Mowat).

The British Navy maintained its supremacy on the seas and the British traders smuggled their goods into the continent through several points. Napoleon's plan of forcing England to agree to his terms failed and he therefore wanted to take steps against the countries which offered easy access to English traders. Portugal was an ally of the English and refused to submit to the Berlin Decrees. Napoleon sent an army under Junot to occupy Portugal. Unable to resist, the Portuguese Regent left Europe and transferred his government to Brazil. French and Spanish troops remained in Portugal in accordance with the treaty of Fontainebleau.

When the Spanish troops helped General Junot in occupying Portugal events in Spain favoured Napoleon's plans. The Spanish King Charles IV was an imbecile; he was under the influence of Godoy, a favourite of the queen. At his advice he was determined to exclude from the throne his son Fredinand. The prince was arrested when he tried to overthrow Godoy on a charge of treason. There was a popular rising in favour of the prince and a large number of French troops marched into Spain. Charles IV in alarm prepared to go over to America along with Godoy. Then he abdicated in favour of his son. The French troops carried Ferdinand to Bayonne, whither he was followed by his parents. Confronted by threats from the parents and Napoleon the young prince handed over the crown to his father who in order to spite his people surrendered all his claims to Napoleon. He thus became the master of the situation in Spain as in the rest of Europe. But the transfer of the crown to his own brother roused the national sentiment of the Spaniards and became the cause of his downfall.

The Foreign policy of England was then directed by Canning who held that any power in hostility with France was an ally of England. He took advantage of the situation in the Peninsula and helped both Portugal and Spain in their revolt against France. When the Spaniards organised their Juntas and won two victories against the French at Saragossa and Baylen (July 1808), Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay with 18,000 British troops. He won a victory over the French General Junot at Vimiero (August 21); but he could not pursue the French further as his superior officers agreed to t e

disgraceful Convention of Cintra by which it was arranged that the British ships would carry the troops of Junot to France. The British commanders were court-martialled for thus surrendering a great advantage and the command of the troops in Portugal was given to Sir John Moore.

The Spanish nationalist movement grew in volume on the arrival of the British troops in the Peninsula. Their feelings were further excited at the annexation of the Papal States and the arrest of the Pope. This brought Napoleon to Spain with a large army of 200,000 troops. He had now lost the moral support of the other Powers. The appeal to nationalism by the Spaniards created a more potent movement than the sympathy for democracy which had been championed by Napoleon. He had to adopt measures to crush the new forces, which were of doubtful utility. He marched through Spain, and captured Madrid which had not submitted so long. There was a small contingent of British troops under Sir John Moore in Portugal, which came across the French at Corunna while trying to embark on ships waiting for them. (January 1809). Moore was mortally wounded in the battle but the British troops managed to escape. The incident has been commemorated in the famous lines of Wolfe :

"Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corpse to the rampart we hurried,
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our Hero we buried."

Nepoleon had to leave Spain on receiving disquieting news from Austria. The British troops continued their operations in the Peninsula under the leadership of Sir Arthur Wellesley who returned to Portugal in April. But the French under Marshal Lannes captured Saragossa.

the capital of Arragon after a desperate fight (February 21). On the arrival of Wellesley the Peninsular War entered on a new phase. The progress of the French was arrested and they had to withdraw from Portugal.

The Austrian Government made an attempt to throw off the domination of Nepoleon when he was involved in a deadly fight with the Spaniards. They tried to rouse up the German races against the tyranny of the French Emperor. Napoleon on the other hand had won the sympathies of many people by his efficient administration. Both in Germany and Italy he established a standard of good government which the people never experienced before. He abolished the monopolies in Church and trade and introduced religious toleration and freedom in economic pursuits. The evils of the old system of government were removed. But under his control the dependent states had to pay heavy taxes, to submit to the system of conscription, and they were debarred from trading with other countries. The Germans felt bitterly the humiliation of this tyranny. But still all the German states were not prepared to rise against Napoleon. The invitation of Austria was not widely responded. Napoleon marched into Bavaria, entered Vienna, but suffered a defeat at Aspern (May 21-22). He retrieved his position by a victory at Wagram on July 15. Austria was once again forced to ask for peace. She saw no chance of improving her position through British help as Arthur Wellesley after defeating the French at Talavera which brought him the peerage and the title of Viscount Wellington was compelled to retire into Portugal; and the British troops on the North Sea failed to effect a diversion. The expedition sent to the Island of Walcheron at the mouth of the Scheldt

was undertaken with a view to help the Austrians. But it failed disastrously (August 16). The forces sent to effect a diversion would have been more profitably employed if they had been sent to the Peninsula to strengthen Wellesley. But instead of concentrating the forces at one place they wasted the year in a fruitless attempt to reduce the French. Everywhere the French maintained their position and on the other hand the Austrians were humiliated in their own country. The Treaty of Schonbrunn or Vienna snatched from Emperor Francis large territories which had then about 4,5000, 000 inhabitants. Napoleon obtained control over Trieste, the only Austrian sea-port (October 14, 1809).

Napoleon has reached the height of his power. He now became anxious to retain the throne of France in his family. He had no issue from his wife Josephine. Divorce of this lady was arranged and a bride for the Emperor was sought in the royal families of Europe. The Tsar refused to give his sister in marriage and then through the kind offices of the Austrian diplomatist Metternich marriage with the Archduchess Marie Lousie was arranged. This marriage created a cleavage between Napoleon and Tsar Alexander. Napoleon henceforth tried to isolate Russia and to conciliate the nationalists in Central Europe. Released from hostility of the Eastern Powers he could give more attention to the Peninsular War, which dragged on till Napoleon was driven out of Europe.

After Talavera (July 27, 1809) Wellington withdrew behind Torres Vedras and organised a great defensive army against the French. As there was peace with other Powers Napoleon sent his best General Massena

to Spain and placed at his disposal about 300,000 troops. The French advanced upon Torres Vedras where Wellington had entrenched his troops. The English General had made Lisbon his main base and could receive reinforcements and ammunitions by the sea, but the French on the other hand were very far from their home and were cut off from supplies. The war lingered without any results. In 1812 the English managed to push into Spain by capturing Giudad in the north and Badajoz in the south. The Peninsular War drained all the resources of France, and it proved to be the ruin of Napoleon. So long as the French were busy in Spain the hostile forces gathered strength in other parts of Europe. Russia broke away from the alliance and the nationalist movement in Prussia, Poland and Austria increased in volume. Napoleon went to Russia with his legions and there he suffered the most terrible blow. In Spain the English troops occupied Madrid after the battle of Salamanca (July 22, 1812). In Russia Napoleon was drawn as far as Moscow but the severe winter killed his vast army. More than half a million lives were lost in this expedition. Napoleon returned exhausted and his disaster put courage into the hearts of his enemies.

Napoleon had withdrawn his troops from Spain for his campaign against Russia and left Soult with inferior troops. He had kept the English and the Spaniards engaged while he was away but Soult was gradually pushed towards the boundary between Spain and France. Wellington won a number of victories. At Vittoria he forced Joseph Bonaparte to retreat as far as the Pyrenees (June 21, 1813) and by a series of engagements he broke

into the French frontier. Soult made his last stand at Toulouse (April 10, 1814), and the French were driven out of Spain as a result of his failure to stand. The Peninsular war came to an end with the complete discomfiture of Napoleon. The war had dragged on for six years and it was a steady drain upon Napoleon's resources. It kept some of the able officers confined to the Peninsula who would have been of great use to him in other fields. By the time the French troops were driven out of Spain Paris had capitulated to the allies.

Downfall of Napoleon. The rise of Napoleon was phenomenal. From a Corporal he became the Emperor of France and the arbiter of the fates of the European states. The democratic Government of France had been confronted by various adverse forces and it was Napoleon who saved the principles of the French Revolution from utter extinction. He not only removed the vestiges of feudalism from France but by his military success he brought the other nations in line with France. So long as he kept to the ideals of liberal democracy he won the sympathies of the struggling nations. But when he departed from the earlier principles of his life in pursuit of power and prestige he quickened the national conciousness of the subordinate and allied states. His expedition to Russia was most unfortunate. He made a blunder in marching as far as Moscow. The other states resented the rigours of the Continental System which had ruined their trade. Poland did not get the support of Napoleon in regaining her freedom. Since the battle of Jena the Prussians were trying to adjust their national life in order that they might organise themselves into a strong nationality.

The Russian Expedition left France exhausted. Napoleon could not recruit fresh troops to fight against the gathering of the European Powers. England, Austria Prussia and Sweden formed a fresh combination in 1813. A national rising took place in Prussia at the instigation of Tsar Alexander. Stein had prepared the people by a policy of political reforms to resent the interference of Napoleon in the continental affairs. They revolted against the restriction of trade. Prussia had already been drawn towards Russia by the Treaty of Kalisch and had agreed to surrender her claims to Polish districts if she were helped to obtain territories in Western Germany. The War of Liberation started on the banks of the Elbe. Napoleon won two victories at Lutzen and Beautzen in May, 1813. Austria was still neutral, her minister Metternich did not desire to see Napoleon defeated as the rise of Prussia and Russia was not in the interest of Austria. But the crafty minister was anxious to regain Trieste from Napoleon. He negotiated with Napoleon for the concession; but Napoleon in his pride did not accept the offer of Metternich. Austria then went over to the alies and by the Treaty of Teptlitz obtained from them the condition that every German state would enjoy complete independence so that no chance of Germany attaining unity might arise. The shrewd Austrian minister defeated the nationalist policy of Stein by this treaty.

Napoleon won his last battle against the allied army at Dresden in August, 1813. But the Powers put together no less than 300,000 troops against 170,000 of Napoleon. The French were defeated in a number of places. But at Leipzig was fought the famous Battle of the Nations.

It lasted three days and crushed Napoleon. 40,000 of his troops were killed and 30,000 taken as prisoners. Unable to stand any more Napoleon recrossed the Rhine (October, 1813). Then the allies invaded France from all sides, Belgium, the Rhineland, Italy and Spain. The number of the allied troops was overwhelming. The Powers had agreed not to make peace separately and they were determined to fight till Napoleon was overthrown. Towards the close of March, 1814, Paris surrendered to the Allies and on the 6th April Napoleon abdicated. He retired to the Island of Elba but was allowed to retain the title of the Emperor. The Bourbon dynasty was restored to power in France. The Powers after settling the preliminaries of the readjustment of European affairs went to Vienna to finally arrange the terms of the peace. The Bourbons were very unpopular in France and the people were not satisfied with the terms of the settlement. Napoleon was seeking an opportunity to recover his throne. He came out of the island in February 1815. The French welcomed him back but the Allies combined their troops near Waterloo in Belgium. Napoleon was defeated in this battle on June 18, the English and the Prussian troops entered Paris on July 7 and on July 15 Napoleon surrendered at Rochefort. He was exiled to St. Helena where he died on May 5, 1821.

Waterloo determined the fate of Napoleon and the states of Europe. Wellington was the British Ambassador at Paris when Napoleon returned to France on March 1, 1815. He was placed in command of the Allied Army. The representatives of the Powers were assembled at Vienna to discuss the plan of reorganising Europe. On receiving the news of the return of Napoleon they put their armies in motio-n. The British and the Prus

sians came into the field first and converged on the Franco-Belgian frontier. Napoleon had under him about 35,000 British and 60,000 Hanoverian, Dutch and Belgian troops.

The Prussian army was led by Field-Marshal Blucher who was defending the line of the Sambre. Napoleon crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, drove them along the road towards Namur, and defeated the Prussians at Ligny (June 15). He had detached an army under Marshal Ney to engage Wellington at Quatre Bras; and after the battle of Ligny he himself joined Ney. Marshal Grouchy pursued the Prussians. Unable to stand before the combined forces of Napoleon and Ney Wellington retreated towards Waterloo on the way to Brussels. Blucher had by that time fallen back upon Wavre. Wellington was expecting that Blucher would be able to join him in time and the combined troops would be able to resist the charge of the French. The battle began at 11 A.M. on Sunday the 18th of June. Blucher had started late and did not reach Waterloo till 4 P.M. The French pressed on, and routed the British and the Allied troops in the early part. But towards the evening Wellington put all his energies into the fight. When Blucher's troops came in the French could not withstand the combined attack. Napoleon's troops were routed and the Allied troops followed them till Wellington and Blucher entered Paris (July 7). Napoleon had a design of a flight to America but when he found that he could not escape he surrendered. The Allies placed the Bourbon Emperor Louis XVIII on the throne of France and settled the terms in such a way that it was impossible for Napoleon to come back.

The fall of Napoleon marks an important chapter in the History of Europe. The Powers formed a Concert

with a view to maintain the peace of the world. France was deprived of all authority in the territories acquired since the beginning of the Revolution. The legitimate rulers of Germany and Italy were restored to their thrones. Austria under the leadership of Metternich obtained the supreme power in the continental affairs. The gain to Britain was immense. She retained Malta, Mauritius, Ceylon and the Cape Colony and the supreme position on the seas. Austria consolidated her power over Central Europe and northern Italy; Holland and Belgium were placed under one government. The states of Germany were not allowed to unite in a strong federation, and Italy was split up into different states. The principles of the Revolution were ignored.

The war lasted for about twenty-three years with slight breaks. England alone stubbornly fought against the revolutionary France. Other Powers at times made up their differences but England alone remained in the hostile camp and by her pertinacity brought about the ruin of the great menace to European peace. Napoleon invited his own fall by his ever-increasing ambitions. If he had been satisfied with the triumph of the revolutionary period and had not threatend the other Powers with economic stagnation and collapse he would have remained the undisputed leader of modern democracy.

In this long war England no doubt retained her supremacy, she won this position at a heavy price. Besides the large loss in lives her National Debt increased from £240,000,000 to £860,000,000 and the taxes were doubled. On account of the introduction of machinery there was a great change of social life and a readjustment of her domestic problems became urgently necessary. But all reforms were held back during the war.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

RELATIONS WITH IRELAND

Ireland from 1689 to 1763. During the English Revolution in 1688 the Irish Catholics had supported James II; William III therefore had to send an expedition to secure his position there. With the help of the Irish Protestants he succeeded in crushing the rebellion of the Catholics and for seventy years the Island was subjected to a policy of repression. The main object of the Government was to placate the Protestants at the expense of the Catholics. A series of Penal laws were enacted to undermine the social, economic, and religious influence of the Irish Catholics. There was an old law passed in 1494, popularly known as Poynings' Act, which required that all laws passed by Irish Parliament must be approved of by the English Privy Council. This reduced the Irish Parliament to a subordinate position. The English Parliament passed an Act in 1692 by which the Catholics were excluded from the offices and from the Irish Parliament, as it provided that they would have to make a declaration against transubstantiation. It was thus established that the English Parliament could legislate for Ireland. The Catholics were forbidden to teach in a school or in a private house. They could not possess arms nor even a horse worth more than £5. Marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant was declared illegal. These laws were enforced with great severity.

The officials found it hard to enforce the laws when they found that they affected about three-fourths of the population. These repressive measures were monuments of bigotry and in many cases they were applied with great reluctance. "It is impossible" says Mowat "year after year, to enforce an absurd and unjust code of law against the continuous passive resistance of a whole people. Government can only act through its officials, and no body of officials in the world can permanently compel the observance, even of a good system of laws (far less a bad system) against the continuous resistance of the people."

During the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715 the Penal Laws were applied rigorously. People suffered from the tyrannies without complaint. In spite of the penal laws the priests did not give up their duties. The Bishops who were being directed by the Papal Nuncio at Brussels lived in private families with assumed names. The result of this policy of repression was that the people who were expected to lead an honourable life were often compelled to associate with smugglers, robbers and privateers, and the country was seething with discontent.

Ireland had been excluded from the advantages of the Navigation Acts since 1663. Irish pigs could not be sold in England, and Irish wool could be sold to any other country except England. The result was that Irish trade gradually died off. People became poor and miserable. The lands of the Catholics passed into the hands of the Protestants. Most of the new owners of lands lived in England and left the management of their lands into the hands of the bailiffs who never cared for the welfare of the peasantry. Land was neglected, cultivation

deteriorated and many persons left the country in search of a better living. They went over to Europe and sought service under different kings and some migrated to the New World. When Lord Chesterfield became Viceroy of Ireland he refused to govern on this policy of repression. The persecution of the Catholics was stopped and they were not punished for worshipping in their own way. In 1719 a Declaratory Act was passed by the English Parliament according to which a Bill passed in the English Parliament could be applied to Ireland even if it has not been placed before the Irish legislature.

Not only were the powers of the Irish Parliament considerably reduced the ministers in Ireland were not responsible to their Parliament. They were nominated by the Viceroy. The people had to submit to the control of the British Parliament almost in every way.

Growth of Opposition. The Irish Parliament consisted of a House of Lords where only Protestant Peers could sit, and a House of Commons with 300 members. Most of the Protestant Peers lived in England and the Anglican Bishops formed the majority in the House of Lords. 84 members of the Commons were elected by the freeholders and the rest, 216, were returned by close boroughs or manors. It is said that one hundred voters elected more than two hundred members. The Irish Parliament was not dissolved in the life-time of a king, and neither did it meet regularly. It met only every other year when some tax was to be imposed. It was an impotent body and did more harm than good to the people.

All sections of the people in Ireland had some grievance or another. The Catholics had no political rights in their own country and they were debarred from all offices. They constituted the bulk of the population and their condition was miserable. In the north lived the Presbyterians from Scotland, and they suffered from the same disabilities as the Catholics. The Anglicans also found that their position in Ireland was anything but happy. They were wise enough to understand that unless Ireland were given greater freedom the lot of the people were not likely to improve. Some patriotic Irishmen became discontented and began to criticise the system of government.

Agitation for Legislative Independence. Opposition to Government grew in volume by the middle of the eighteenth century. The *Freeman's Journal* which was founded by an apothecary named Charles Lucas in 1763 freely criticised the abuses of the 'Castle' administration. A patriotic Irishman named Henry Flood succeeded in passing a measure recognising the exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to introduce the Money Bills, the power then exercised by the English Privy Council. The most remarkable man who drew the attention of the public to the grievances of Ireland was a young man named Henry Grattan. He was cultured, and by his eloquence could carry conviction into the hearts of his audience. Although he was an Anglican himself he had imagination to realise the degradation of his country in the hands of the English Parliament. The War of American Independence created a stir in Ireland. An invasion of Ireland was threatened and in this crisis the Irish Protestants collected about 60,000 volunteers to defend their country. By 1781 their

number rose to 80,000. With this army behind them the nationalists pressed for Legislative Independence.

Henry Grattan moved in the Irish Parliament two measures of great importance. One urged the grant of free trade to Ireland and the other legislative independence as existed before Poyning had imposed that retrictive Act. The British people had read the famous treatise of Adam Smith, the *Wealth of Nations* and the idea of commercial freedom did not sound strange to them. A number of Bills were passed in 1780, by which Ireland was placed on commercial equality with Britain. The British Prime Minister Lord North could not resist the demands of the Irish Protestants for the same privileges as were enjoyed by Scotland.

An Act had been passed in 1768 limiting the duration of the Irish Parliament to eight years but this was not sufficient to create confidence in the Parliament. The movement set on foot by Grattan received wide support. The volunteers who had offered their services in defence of their country greatly sympathised with the movement. At a meeting of their delegates in a Protestant Church at Dungannon in February, 1782, resolutions were passed asserting that the Irish Parliament alone had the right to legislate for Ireland. In the meantime there was a change in the ministry of England. The Whig Rockingham had taken the place of the Tory North. The new Ministry was confronted with the problems of America and Ireland at the same time. They had professed sympathy with Ireland. Grattan moved an Address to the Crown in the Irish Parliament to grant legislative independence to Ireland (April 16, 1782). In the course of an impassioned speech Grattan said : "I found Ireland on her

knees; I watched over her with an eternal solitude ; I have traced her progress from injury to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! Your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation".

The Address was assented to by both Houses. The Whig ministers did not dare oppose such a movement. Both the restrictive Acts, the Poyning's Act and the Declaratory Act were repealed and in theory Ireland obtained legislative independence. She was relieved of the burden of enacting measures at the behest of the English Privy Council or the obligation to submit to laws passed by the British Parliament.

Grattan's Parliament. The Irish Parliament became nominally free from the control of the British Parliament from 1782 to 1800 when it was incorporated with the latter. Under pressure of the American War England had to concede the just rights of the Irish, but the Irish Parliament remained a Protestant Parliament. The Catholics were not allowed to vote or to sit in Parliament. The influence of the British Ministry was exercised through the Viceroy who was nominated by them, and as the posts, pensions and patronages were all at the disposal of the British Government the Irish Parliament had very little freedom. Moreover, the Irish Parliament was composed mainly of men returned by the rotten boroughs The Anglicans were mainly immigrants from England and they did not see eye to eye with the Catholics or the Presbyterians. There were constant frictions between these people in the rural areas. The Presbyterians lived mainly in Ulster; and they were in favour of extending the political rights to the Catholics. Under the leadership of Wolfe Tone they formed the Society of United Irishmen with

the object of uniting the Catholics and Protestants by widening the franchise and by admitting men to office and Parliament without distinction of creed (October 1791).

The French Revolution had generated a spirit of defiance in a large section of the Irish people. Secret societies were formed and there was a danger of Ireland joining France. In his alarm Pitt wanted to conciliate the Catholics. He persuaded the Irish Parliament to confer the right to vote upon the Catholics (1793). But as they could not sit in Parliament and majority of the seats were filled by the representatives of the rotten boroughs the concession did not soothe the Irish feelings. The proposal of increasing the number of independent constituencies was rejected by the Irish House of Commons. Pitt was in favour of Catholic emancipation and he had a desire to improve the situation in Ireland. To carry out the desired reforms he sent Lord Fitzwilliam as Viceroy of Ireland (1795). The new Viceroy on his arrival in Dublin dismissed two of the corrupt officials who complained to the king that the ministers were leading him to a breach of the Coronation Oath by effecting Catholic emancipation. The public opinion in England was opposed to the policy of Catholic emancipation as it was almost equivalent to expressing sympathy with the French Revolution. Pitt was compelled to recall Fitzwilliam who went with a message of peace. This exasperated the Catholics who now joined the Society of the United Irishmen in large numbers. All chances of winning the Catholics were gone. Pitt committed one of the saddest blunders by listening to the reactionaries. The discontented Irish people were drawn towards the revolutionaries. The denial to the Catholics of a just share in

political privileges created in them a spirit of bitterness. They suffered terribly under the burden of an alien Government. The tithes weighed heavily upon them specially when they knew they were paid for the maintenance of the Church with which they had no concern. On account of the system of subinfeudation the burden of rent upon the actual cultivator of the land was very heavy. Failure of the movement for reforms accentuated the bitterness and led to frequent outrages. The Orangemen of Ulster pressed for retaliatory measures against the United Irishmen who were in league with the revolutionaries. At their instigation the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended and an Insurrection Act was passed. On the other hand the United Irishmen sent Wolfe Tone to France to urge the Directory to send an expedition to Ireland and to establish a republic there. An expedition was despatched under General Hoche in December, 1796. But on account of a furious storm the French could not land and the Irishmen implicated in the conspiracy were seriously dealt with.

The Irish Government had taken strong measures to crush the movement. General Lake was commissioned to disarm Ulster and he was responsible for indescribable cruel deeds perpetrated upon the Irishmen. The repressive policy instead of crushing the movement spread widely the net-work of the conspirators. The thirst for revenge went on increasing. Impatient of the brutal outrages of the soldiers the Irishmen in Wexford rose in rebellion in May, 1798. A small detachment of the French came to their help. The rebels were defeated at Vinegar Hill by Lake and the French were forced to surrender. The chances of a successful Irish rebellion now became remote

and the authority of the English Government became well-established. Wolfe Tone who was with the French expeditionary party was captured and to save further disgrace committed suicide.

The Irish Union. During the rebellion of 1798 Lord Cornwallis was sent as Viceroy of Ireland. He was staggered at the spirit of vindictiveness of the magistrates, soldiers and the men who professed to be loyal to the Government. Atrocious cruelties were perpetrated upon men suspected of complicity in the late rebellion. The Irish Parliament passed an Act of Indemnity for all persons accused of using violence towards the rebels. The Protestants mal-treated the Catholics and Cornwallis found no other means of saving the people of Ireland from the revengeful Orangemen than the abolition of the Irish Parliament and the direct representation of Ireland in the British Parliament. To satisfy the Catholics it was held out as a promise that the Catholics would receive complete emancipation. Pitt was in full sympathy with this idea of the union of Ireland with Britain. The proposal had to be adopted not only by the British Parliament but to be agreed to by the Irish Parliament. This scheme of union did not appeal to the nationalists like Grattan or the borough-owners who controlled the rotten boroughs.

The Irish nationalists felt that with the abolition of their own Parliament they would be placed completely under the control of the British people and they would be deprived of the right of governing their own affairs. Pitt was bent upon bringing about the union as the only means of saving the Empire when it was threatened by a great danger from outside. He adopted the plan of buying the

votes in the Irish Parliament. The borough-owners were paid at the rate of £15,000 a seat. A number of men were offered peerages and profitable places under the Government. Thus about £1,200,000 had to be distributed in order to secure a majority in the Irish Parliament in favour of the Union. Lord Cornwallis felt disgusted at the dirty work in which he was engaged, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. But he did it on the conviction that "without a Union the British Empire must be dissolved."

The Bill was easily passed by the British Parliament. But when it was introduced in the Irish Parliament Grattan opposed it. The Government had however secured a majority in their favour by lavishly distributing money and patronage. It was carried by a majority of forty-six. From January 1, 1801, the Union of Great Britain and Ireland became an accomplished fact.

By the Act of Union Ireland was to be represented in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, there would be four bishops and twenty-eight representative peers in the House of Lords, and hundred representatives of the Irish people in the House of Commons. The representative peers would be elected for life, and any other Irisn Peer not elected to the House of Lords was at liberty to seek election to the House of Commons. The spiritual lords came by rotation. The Protestant Church of Ireland became a part of the United Church of England and Ireland. The administration of the country was entrusted to the Viceroy and the Chief Secretary who kept their connection with the Government as members of the Cabinet.

The most important part of Pitt's policy of conciliation

was the extension of franchise to the Catholics and the grant of full political privileges to them. The Irish Parliament had given the Catholics the right to vote by an Act of 1793 but that did not satisfy the Irish ambition. They demanded representation in Parliament. Pitt had the intention of winning over the sympathies of the Irish Catholics by an offer of state maintenance to their priests, by improving the existing system of the payment of the tithes, and by admitting Catholics to office and to seats in Parliament. But the narrow-minded Tories were opposed to this plan of emancipation and they had in King George III a great supporter of this reactionary policy. Nothing short of religious equality would satisfy the Irish people. They had already acquired legislative independence and commercial equality. The king was not willing to concede the liberty of conscience to the Irish Catholics, as he considered that, that would be a violation of his Coronation Oath. As a conscientious statesman Pitt felt that he would be accused of treachery if he did not fulfil his promise; so he resigned from the Ministry. He possibly expected that he would be able to redeem his promise on the death of George III; but unfortunately the statesman predeceased the king and the plan of emancipation could not be carried out till the situation in Ireland forced the British Parliament to pass the measure.

The Union did not bring about peace as a matter of course. The Tory party in England controlled the policy of the Government and in Ireland the Catholics were governed by Orangemen. Repression and coercion continued so long as there was no change in the policy of the Government. The Irish members in Parliament represented the reactionary party and they were opposed to all

proposals of concessions. The British statesmen, however, had the imagination to understand the situation and they tried to make the Union acceptable by some moderate measures of reforms. The restrictions upon commerce were removed, the taxation lightened, education encouraged and manufactures expanded.

Catholic Emancipation. The union of Ireland with Great Britain brought to the British Parliament only Protestant members. The Catholics could not sit in either House. The people of Ireland were very poor and lived a very miserable life. They had to pay tithe for the maintenance of a church to which they did not belong. The peasantry were oppressed under the heavy burden of rent due to the land system in existence. The population increased fast and the number of peasants were very large. The demand for land was so great that they did not care for the rent, and in taking land on heavy rent they had scarcely any margin left for livelihood. During the famine of 1822 a large number of the people died.

There were attempts made by sincere well-wishers of the people to remove the disabilities of the Catholics. The king was obdurate and the Tories and the Anglican priests were unyielding. Resolutions and Bills to extend the privileges to the Catholics were stoutly opposed. Despairing of any improvement from the British Parliament the Catholics began to organise themselves for a supreme contest. Henry Grattan had been the most ardent champion of the Irish cause. On his death in 1820 his mantle fell upon Plunkett who had been Attorney-General for Ireland. But the obstinacy of the Anglican party brought about the defeat of all motions for reform. Scme

of the Tories under the leadership of Canning were prepared to admit the Catholics to political equality but the party of reform was not sufficiently strong.

In Ireland itself the agitation for emancipation went on increasing. A Catholic Board was formed to press the claims of the Catholics and the leader of this Board was Daniel O'Connell, an eminent lawyer and an eloquent orator. When Ireland was visited by famine he organised the Catholic Association with branches all over the island. The members paid a weekly levy of 1s. per head, known as the Catholic Rent. The Irish peasants joined this Association by the thousand. The movement strengthened the cause of Irish nationalism and to oppose it Orange Lodges were organised on the other side. It was feared that there would be a civil war. Parliament passed an Act in 1825 dissolving the Association. The Irish dissolved the Association but thereby they did not give up their cause. They started a new organisation which did not fall within the category of the prohibited association but served the same purpose of keeping alive the movement for the emancipation of the Catholics. The main object for dissolving the Catholic Association was to crush the spirit of defiance but there was a strong party in Parliament advocating the political emancipation of a large section of the subjects of His Majesty. A Bill introduced by Sir Francis Burdett in 1825 was passed by the Commons but was rejected by the Lords. Similar measures failed to receive the support of the Lords in subsequent years. Hopes were revived when Canning became the Prime Minister. On his death in 1827 these hopes were shattered. His successor Duke of Wellington was not in favour of religious liberty.

The Whigs intended to enforce religious liberty so that the Catholics and the Dissenters might not suffer on account of their faith. They also had a comprehensive plan of Parliamentary reform. In 1828 Lord John Russell introduced a Bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The Dissenters were debarred from holding any office under the Crown but in many cases they were appointed to such posts and annually Indemnity Acts were passed to legalise these appointments. People felt the absurdity of renewing year after year these indemnifying laws when actually no danger either to the Crown or to the Church was threatened from the Catholics or the Non-Conformists. In 1828 Lord John Russell introduced a Bill to repeal the Corporation Act and the Test Act which compelled the candidates for office and for seats in Parliament to receive the Communion in the Church of England. Inspite of the opposition of the Ministry the Bill was passed by the Commons and at the suggestion of Peel it was passed by the Lords when a clause was introduced in it requiring the dissenters to make a declaration that they would not use their power to injure or subvert the Established Church. The success of this liberal measure was received by the country with gratitude. The reformers pressed for further concessions to establish religious liberty.

A resolution moved by Sir Francis Burdett to the effect that the laws regarding the Roman Catholics should be considered was agreed to by the Commons (May 8, 1828). But the Lords were not prepared to consider the resolution. In this state of things the affairs in Ireland precipitated the solution of the problem. The seat of Clare fell vacant on the appointment of Vesey Fitzgerald

who represented it in Parliament as President of the Board of Trade and the re-election was contested by Daniel O'Connell, the leader of the Roman Catholic party. The Catholics could vote but could not sit in Parliament according to the existing law. The Irish electors disregarded this law and voted for O'Connell. It became a political necessity to amend the law when O'Connell was returned to Parliament with an overwhelming majority. Government feared that if the rights of the Catholics were not granted with grace they would snatch them away by force. The history of Clare would be repeated in every Irish constituency and there would be civil war if Parliament refused to admit the members elected by the voters. Wellington and Peel agreed that postponement of the reforms would be dangerous. The King was still not willing to yield. They threatened to resign and insisted upon the policy of conciliation. The King had no other alternative than to submit to the inevitable. Peel introduced the Catholic Relief Bill on March 5, 1829. "The measure itself was complete; it admitted Roman Catholics—on taking a new oath, instead of the oath of supremacy—to both Houses of Parliament, to all corporate offices, to all judicial offices, except in the ecclesiastical courts; and to all civil and political offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor in England and Ireland, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland." The Bill created a great commotion in the country. It was passed by a heavy majority by the Commons. It was opposed in the Lords. Wellington supported it with a remarkable statement which is often quoted: "If I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it." The Bill was passed with

a majority of 104 by the Lords and received the Royal assent. A great reform was effected under the stress of necessity and the gate for further reforms was opened.

Although the Catholics were allowed to sit in Parliament according to the new Act O'Connell was refused the privilege of taking the new oath. He was not prepared to take the oath of supremacy, so the election became invalid and a new writ was issued for holding a fresh election. O'Connell was returned without opposition and this time there could not be any legal difficulty in the way of his sitting in Parliament. The Irish leader did not forget the difficulties which were put in his way and was very bitter against the British Tories for their narrowness. Along with the measure for Catholic Emancipation another law was passed raising the qualification of a freeholder from 40s. to £ 10. A large number of men were in this way disfranchised. The Catholics considered the concessions as coming too late and the way in which they were restricted took away from them all grace. They felt on the other hand that they had forced their rulers to submit to their demands and they pressed for more rights exasperated by the attitude of the British people. O'Connell formulated new demands for the repeal of the Act of Union and the restoration of a separate Irish Parliament.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE AGE OF MACHINERY.

England after Waterloo. After the long war with France and Napoleon England became exhausted. The victory was bought at a heavy price. The National Debt increased from £ 240,000,000 to £ 850,000,000 and the cessation of the war brought about the industrial dislocation. As long as the war was on people were busy manufacturing munitions of war and the workshops of Britain were not idle. The corns produced from the English fields found a market on account of the closure of the English ports to goods from Europe. Though the Continental blockade closed the European markets to the English goods they were carried to distant countries. The end of the war caused a depression in the English trade as the markets were overstocked and a large quantity of goods lay unsold or unpaid for, a number of businesses failed. During the war people had resorted to less fertile lands to increase the output of corns ; as they could sell them at a high price agriculture was a profitable business. At the conclusion of peace cheap corns from Europe began to compete with English corns. To prevent this competition a Corn Law Act was passed in 1815 by which importation of grain was forbidden, if the price of wheat was less than 80s a quarter. The measure kept up the prices of foodstuffs but the wages of labour gradually went down and the number of the unemployed increased. The burden of the people was further enhanced by the necessity of contributing to the Poor Rates at a higher proportion. The misery of the people became unbearable and the labourers were degraded. The capita-

lists tried to get the largest profit with the least expenditure and the labourers had to accept anything that the employers gave. The population of the country had increased 35 per cent. since the beginning of the war and consequently the supply of labour was more than the requirement of the market.

Besides the consequences of the war the industrial life of England had undergone a great change since the intro-tion of machinery. The industrial revolution had thrown a large number of people out of employment and the depression that ensued created a difficult problem for the British statesmen.

Since the introduction of power-loom the hand-loom weavers lost their job. In the newly erected factories the power-loom could be worked by women and children, and each labourer could handle two looms at the same time. The artisans who worked at home with their own instruments were thrown out of employment. The capitalists anxious to save cost of production employed children and women who worked at a very low rate of wages. It has been calculated that the cost of weaving a particular kind of cloth fell from 29*s.* in 1797 to 6*s.* 6*d.* in 1827. These labourers not only were paid very little, they had also to work long hours.

The capitalists in the factories working on the hill-sides where water-power could be had found it rather difficult to obtain sufficient number of labourers. They therefore arranged to employ pauper children as apprentices. These children were often very badly housed and ill-nourished. The condition of these unfortunate children called forth public sympathy and at the instance of Sir Robert Peel the elder Parliament passed the first Factory Act in 1801. The scope of the Act was limited to the treatment of the pauper children only. It forbade the employment of children as

apprentices under nine years of age, limited the hours of labour to 12 hours a day and abolished night work. A few more clauses were added for sanitation and education of the children. But these provisions were hardly enforced.

At the end of the war the distress of the labourers became very acute on account of the general economic depression. Riots broke out in many places towards the close of 1816. They were suppressed with the help of soldiers.

Government and the General Unrest. The condition of England of this time has been described by Marriott in the following passage :

" A labour market congested and dislocated ; trade suddenly arrested after a period of abnormal inflation ; a gigantic debt ; a falling revenue ; a disorderly currency ; a peasantry demoralised by reckless administration of relief ; a populace discontented and ripe for disturbance ; all classes involved in a common ruin: land-lord and tenant-farmer, capitalist and manufacturer, banker and merchant, skilled artisan and agricultural labourer."

To add to the difficulties of the people the harvest failed in 1816. The farmers left their fields, banks collapsed, and many well-to-do persons became paupers. The depression in trade kept many businesses idle and in some parts whole villages were reduced to starvation. In their distress the men became violent. Riots took place in many places. These are known as the Luddite Riots. In this state of unrest social workers and philanthropists demanded universal suffrage and annual Parliaments as the remedy for their negligence of the Oligarchic Government. A meeting organised in Spa Fields in the neighbourhood of London on December 2,1816, developed into a riot when the mob sacked a gunsmith's shop and invaded the Royal Exchange. The riot was crushed by the boldness of the Lord Mayor of

London. But political clubs and secret committees fomented the grievances of the people all over the country. The Government under Lord Liverpool got frightened. Parliament on enquiry was informed that there was a deliberate plan of a revolutionary movement ; the ministers in their fear ignored the economic causes of the unrest, and adopted a policy of repression. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and Acts were passed to prohibit the holding of seditious meetings and to prevent the seduction of the Army and the Navy from their allegiance. Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, issued a circular letter to the Lord-Lieutenants to arrest the persons suspected of writing seditious and blasphemous pamphlets. This was considered by the public as an attack upon the liberty of the Press.

The improvement in the harvest of 1817 eased the situation to some extent, the Habeas Corpus Act was restored. The prosperity that was now enjoyed led to over-production. This again brought in its train speculation, depression and distress. Demonstrations were held as before for more powers in the hands of the representatives of the people. Cobbett and 'Orator' Hunt in their writings formulated the demands of the masses. In Parliament Francis Burdett supported their case. A tragedy happened on August 16, 1819 in Manchester. A meeting attended by about 80,000 men to press for the radical programme was held in St. Peter's Field in the heart of the city. When the chairman of the meeting, 'Orator' Hunt was going to address the meeting the Magistrate ordered the Yeomanry to disperse the crowd. There was a previous warrant against Hunt for seditious agitation. The charge of the Yeomanry produced a great disturbance, several persons were killed and three or four thousand were injured. The event has been described as the Battle of Peterloo, and some people call it the

" Manchester Massacre." Several persons including Hunt were arrested. Hunt was sentenced to imprisonment for two years and six months. The Government applauded the action of the Magistrate but meetings were held in several places demanding an enquiry into the incident. The popular unrest could no longer be ignored by the Government. Lord Sidmouth introduced a series of Bills for the suppression of the conspiracy to overthrow the constitution. His measures are known as the " Six Acts." They were designed to (1) prevent delay in the administration of justice, (2) to stop the practice of using arms by the people, (3) to punish blasphemous and seditious libels, (4) to authorize the Justices of Peace to seize and detain arms, (5) to discourage the publication of seditious libels and (6) to prevent seditious meetings. These repressive measures evoked strong criticism in the country. One of the critics in a forceful speech said, " He saw on the part of the Government an evident determination to resort to nothing but force ; they thought of nothing else ; they dreamt of nothing else ; they would try no means of conciliation, they would make no attempt to pacify and reconcile ; force, force and nothing but force ; that was their cry, and it had been the same for years."

The effect of the laws was to encourage the extremists to defy authority and to indulge in violence. But according to some these laws brought about a quiet state of the country. When the public mind was agitated over these things George III died on January 29, 1820 in his eighty-third year. He had been on the throne for sixty years but in the last ten years of his life he had lost his reason and could not in any way influence the political life of the country. But for fifty years of his active administration he guided the state in his own way which is believed to have cost Britain her vast dominions overseas. He was the last of the monarchs of

England who ruled. His successor George IV did not succeed in maintaining the dignity of his office nor did William IV win the respect due to his position. When Queen Victoria came to the throne constitutional government had been strongly established in England and no monarch could henceforth go against the responsible ministers.

Combination Laws. Shortly after the death of the king a conspiracy to murder the ministers was discovered. A dinner of the Cabinet ministers was to take place on February 23 at Lord Harrowby's house and a plot was laid to murder them there. But before the plot could be carried out the conspirators were surprised. One Thistlewood and about thirty accomplices were arrested, the leaders were executed, and this black conspiracy known as the Cato Street Conspiracy threw the radical movement into disgrace. By that time the economic situation had improved and the Ministry changed its policy by the infusion of Liberal element in it. People began to feel that the policy of Sidmouth was justified.

The return of prosperity brought the problems of reform to the notice of the public. Sir Robert Peel had succeeded Sidmouth as Home Secretary and he at once applied himself to remove the ill-feeling between the rich and the poor by a number of important laws. The working men felt the necessity of forming combinations of their own when they were confronted by the problems of large scale production. They formed Trade Unions to press for the redress of their grievances. Their method of forcing the employers to accept their terms was to organise strikes. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the country was not in a mood to be charitable towards the workers. In 1799 an Act was passed by Parliament rendering all combinations to

control wages illegal. But this law applied equally for the masters as well as the men. The masters however evaded it and used to take measures for regulating wages but the men being too numerous could not do anything in secret. The cause of the men was taken up by a master-tailor named Francis Place. He was a disciple of the radical philosopher Bentham. He succeeded in interesting Joseph Hume a member of Parliament, who persuaded Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, to move for the repeal of the Combination Laws. The harsh laws were repealed in 1824, and as a result of the removal of restrictions a large number of trade-unions cropped up, which became a source of annoyance to the Government; the masters appealed for restoration of the old system and the law was introduced in a modified form. All combinations of masters or of men were, however, considered legal if they were held for the purpose of regulating hours and rates of wages. Trade-unionism became a recognised system for the working men. It has played an important part in the evolution of England as a democratic state.

Along with the rationalisation of the relations between the capitalists and labour a number of measures were passed to reform the criminal laws. Through the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh the evils of the criminal law had been exposed. Not less than two hundred crimes were punishable by death, and persons were hanged on the most trifling offences. Sir Robert Peel was convinced of the necessity of reform and in 1823 he brought in bills abolishing death penalty in more than one hundred offences. The increasing prosperity helped the Government to reduce the duties on imports. The statesmen began to feel that the removal of barriers from the way of trade with other countries was likely to help the economic gain of England.

Early in 1827 the Earl of Liverpool left the Prime Ministership on account of an attack of apoplexy. He was a thorough-going Tory and was opposed to any advance on liberal lines. He was more in sympathy with the Tories like Sidmouth and Eldon who did not desire any change than with the progressives like Canning, Peel and Huskisson. On the retirement of Liverpool Canning was appointed Prime Minister. Although he was a Tory he was in favour of Catholic emancipation along with the Whigs. Some of the old Tory ministers refused to serve under him, but he received the support of the Whigs. But unfortunately Canning did not live long. He died on August 8 and was succeeded by Lord Goderich (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer as Mr. Robinsom). Goderich could not pull on with his colleagues and resigned on January 9, 1828. His place was taken by the Duke of Wellington who as a soldier had served the king and his country so eminently. He knew when to yield and by this policy he maintained the Ministry for some time. The demand for Parliamentary reforms were too strong for the Tory Ministry and they had to make room for the Whigs.

England the Workshop of the World. The industrial revolution changed the English life thoroughly. New factory towns, mining centres and commercial cities grew up most quickly as if by magic. Before the new industries were started there were few cities of importance; even London did not possess one-tenth of her present population. Big factories were established first on the hill-sides where water-power could be had, and then at places where coal could be brought without difficulty. Canals were dug for the carriage of coal and goods and within a short time northern England was studded all over with industrial centres. England set up big cotton and woollen mills, extensive cutlery factories and big work-shops for iron and

steel goods. British coal was supplied to all parts of the world and British ships visited all corners of the globe. The European countries had not developed their industries so early and England became so to say the workshop of the world.

An idea of the industrial progress of England may be formed from the following figures. Early in the eighteenth century the total production of iron was hardly 12,000 tons; by 1800 it had risen to 190,000 tons and in fifty years it went up to 2,250,000 tons. The rapid progress of industry brought the production of iron to 13,216,000 tons in 1929. Coal has helped the growth of the iron manufactures. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the output of coal was little above 2,612,000 tons, and by the middle of the century it became nearly double. The average amount of coal produced now is about 250,000,000 tons. It was in cotton that England first employed the new methods of production and in this industry the progress was phenomenal. These changes transformed the social and political condition of the English people. England built up her industries much earlier than any other country and developed a process of economic reasoning according to her industrial life. The capitalists were anxious to capture the markets of the world and to obtain raw materials at a low price. In order to reduce the cost of production they kept down the wages of labour and tried to avoid interference of Government in economic matters. They adopted the theory of "*Laissez faire et laissez passer*" (which meant, let things be done and let things pass, in other words, do not interfere and let things alone).

The new industries required large capital and the old system of cottage industry and small-scale production were superseded. The labourers had to flock to the industrial

centres and their domestic life was upset in the mills where men and women worked long hours together. Other problems arose out of this complex situation. These changes were therefore accompanied by an immense amount of human misery and degradation. Between 1750 and 1831 the population had doubled and the capitalists determined the wages according to the supply of labour. In their helplessness the working men had to accept what was offered to them and for their maintenance they had to depend upon the Poor Rates. Till 1825 they were forbidden to form trade-unions and even when it became possible for them to organise themselves in unions they could not expect any help from the oligarchic Parliament which was controlled by the landlords and the rich merchants and industrialists. But the labourers living together in factory towns or populous cities devised their own means of salvation. They urged the democratic form of government as the only means of improving their condition. Thus the Industrial Revolution produced the organisation of labour and trade-unions, and the trade-unions at first formed for improving the condition of labour by demanding shorter hours and higher wages have finally placed the control of the state in the hands of the Democratic Government. The modern democracy is, therefore, the product of the Industrial Revolution.

Reform of the Poor Law.—The redistribution of the centres of importance on account of the growth of new industries made it imperative to reform the system of election to Parliament. The Reform Act of 1832 put powers into the hands of the middle class people. The workers were not allowed to enjoy political influence. But the Whig statesmen were not absolutely indifferent towards their grievances. The idea of non-interference was gradually abandoned the interests of the workingmen. The first important measure was the Factory Act of 1833 passed at the instance of Lord

Ashley (later Lord Shaftesbury). The poor factory children had to work very often for thirteen hours a day. They died premature deaths and reduced the man-power of the country. The Act of 1833 did not however go very far; it simply tried to improve the conditions of child labour in the cotton mills. No child under nine could be employed, and the children under thirteen could not be worked for more than eight hours a day, and between thirteen and eighteen, twelve hours a day. The men who worked with children on the same machines got the advantage of this law. Inspectors were appointed to see that the provisions of the Act were respected by the employers. This measure was the first of a long series of enactments in the interest of labour.

The wages of the workers were very low and since 1795 it became a custom for the labourers to fall back upon the poor rates to supplement their income. The Berkshire Magistrates at Speenhamland had decided that relief from the poor rates could be claimed when the wages were insufficient. This led to great corruption; the employers paid low wages, the poor rates were increased and the labourers were demoralised. The Reform Parliament appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Poor Law and on their recommendation a new law was passed in 1834. By this law the Speenhamland system was abolished, outdoor relief was discontinued except to the aged and the infirm, the able-bodied persons had to go to a workhouse if they required relief. The workhouse labour was made less attractive than free labour in order to discourage men to ask for public charity. The reform produced a healthy effect, pauperism was stopped and the new Poor Law was made more systematic throughout the country. For the purpose of the administration of relief several parishes were grouped into a union which was placed under a duly elected Board of Guardians. To

supervise the Boards there was set up a Poor Law Commission which was later on superseded by the Local Government Board in 1871 and then by its successor the present Ministry of Health in 1919. The Boards of Guardians have also been abolished by an Act of 1929 and their functions are now discharged by District Councils with the help of their Guardians Committees.

The system of relief to the poor has been rationalised by several new measures. The aged self-respecting people did not like to ask for charity from the poor rate. A law was passed in 1908 by which an old person who has attained the age of 70 could claim a pension from the state. The rates varied from time to time but the relief thus granted has enabled a large number of the poor but honest persons to live in self-respect. By a subsequent legislation of 1929 pensions are provided for widows of the age of over fifty-five if their husbands had attained the age of 70 before 1926, and had insured their lives under the Industrial Insurance system.

The Chartist Movement.—The wage-earners considered the new Poor Law with disfavour. They had expected that the reformed Parliament would increase their wages and remove their miseries. But instead they found Parliament cutting off their supplementary income. At this time Robert Owen began to talk of his new ideas regarding the welfare of the workers. Trade-unions were organised to demand the limitation of work to eight hours a day. The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union was formed in 1834, which enlisted within a short time about half-a-million members. Their plan was to organise a general strike to press their demand. But their leaders were imprisoned, and the action of the Government created a great unrest in the country. Their resentment was voiced

by fiery orators like Stephens who exhorted them to demand repeal of the hated Poor Law. An association of working men was organised in 1836 under the leadership of an American named James Robert Black mainly with the object of popular education. But soon it developed into a political body to agitate for equal political rights. In 1837 they formulated their demands in a petition to Parliament which is known as the People's Charter. The petition was drawn up by Francis Place and contained six important points *viz.*, (1) Universal suffrage, (2) annual Parliaments, (3) equal electoral districts, (4) removal of property qualifications for members of Parliament, (5) vote by ballot and (6) payment of members of Parliament. The demands of the labourers were popularised by Fergus O'Connor, an able and enthusiastic Irish barrister in the *Northern Star* which was published from Leeds. Meetings were held in several places in support of the Charter but the workingmen did not possess an able man to lead them. In these meetings sometimes violence was threatened. A national convention met in London in February 1839. The threat of violence kept back a large number of supporters of the Charter and the movement developed into a physical force party. The ring-leaders of the movement were arrested by the police and when the petition was presented to Parliament on July 12 it was rejected and was not even taken up for consideration by the committee.

The attitude of Parliament embittered the feelings of the moderate section and they joined the physical force party in large numbers. A riot took place in Birmingham and it was followed by similar risings in other places. An armed attack on Newport in Monmouthshire failed and a man named Frost supposed to be the leader of the rebels was sentenced to death along with some of his accomplices. The sentence was later on commuted into transportation for life. This

brought the movement to a stop. The failure of the movement was due mainly to disunion and lack of definiteness. The leaders could not agree as to whether it would be a strictly constitutional movement or they would use force.

The popularity of the movement waned on account of the indifference of the Chartists towards the anti-corn law agitation which they considered as a middle class movement. An attempt was made to keep up the movement by forming a National Charter Association in 1840 and a second petition containing 3,300,000 signatures was submitted to Parliament in 1842. But as it was found that many of the signatures were "faked" it was rejected. The movement gradually declined when the conditions of the working men imp roved by the repeal of the Corn Laws, extension of the free trade and a fall in the cost of living.

Although the movement failed it facilitated the passage of various measures which were introduced at this time for the improvement of their lot. The Chartism raised its head once again when France rose into revolution in 1848. The Chartist societies carried on an intensive propaganda and held meetings in all the industrial centres and large towns. It was arranged that a People's Parliament of 500,000 persons would assemble on Kensington Common in London on April 10 with the object of presenting another petition to Parliament, bearing 6,000,000 signatures. The Government got alarmed and feared an outbreak of mob violence. 170,000 special constables were enlisted from the middle class to check the big procession. But O'Connor persuaded the Chartists to call off the procession which accordingly peacefully retired from the Bridge. The monster petition was found to contain spurious signatures and was therefore summarily rejected. Chartism died as an organised movement but most of the things it demanded have been later on accepted by Parliament.

Repeal of the Corn Laws. England was divided into three interests since the rise of the new industries. There were the rich landlords and farmers who wanted to keep up the price of corn against foreign competition. It was in their interest that a law was passed in 1815 to prohibit importation of foreign corn till the price of wheat rose to 80s. a quarter. The supply of corn was in England not sufficient for her growing population so the price rose and a loaf of 4lb cost about a shilling. This caused a great hardship to the working men whose wages were generally very low. In the Government of Wellington an attempt was made to give some relief to the common people by a sliding scale of import duties. The farmer was guaranteed a minimum price of 64s. a quarter and when the British wheat was selling at this figure the duty upon foreign wheat was 20s.; and if the price was higher then the duty was correspondingly lower and if the price was 73s. or more then the duty was only 1s. This system did not produce the desired results and led to speculation. The foreign corn markets were disorganised and with the shrinkage of the imports the exports were gradually affected as the purchasing power of the foreign countries was reduced. This brought about ruin to the English industries. To maintain the income of the farmers the workers as well as the industrialists suffered. The high price of corn which was kept up artificially by tariffs in the interest of the farmers caused incalculable hardship to the poor and injured trade.

A school of thinkers in Manchester began to work for the removal of the tariff. With the funds supplied by the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire they organised an Anti-Corn Law League to educate public opinion regarding the evils of the Corn Laws and the advantages of Free Trade. Richard Cobden was a clear thinker and was a master of facts. His reasoning was convincing and could

carry people along with him. He was the son of a yeoman farmer and by dint of his ability he made mmense fortune in the calico business. At the time of the foundation of the League in 1839 he was a young man of 35 and devoted a great part of his time in carrying on propaganda on behalf of the free trade movement. His associate in this campaign was John Bright who was esteemed all over the country for the dignity of his character and whose eloquence stirred the hearts of the people. The Manchester School succeeded in winning the best minds in England such as John Stuart Mill and Robert Peel, and the intellectual classes supported the movement for free trade.

The Whigs under the leadership of Lord Grey piloted the Reform Bill through Parliament. They enacted a number of useful reforms such as the abolition of the slave trade, new factory laws and the poor law. Grey resigned in 1834 and Melbourne became Prime Minister in his place. But he had to resign within a short time and Robert Peel the leader of the new Tories formed a Ministry which did not last more than four months. Melbourne became the Prime Minister once again and when he was at the head of the Government William IV died and was succeeded by Victoria then a young woman of eighteen (1837). Melbourne carried on the government for some years but his measures were not supported by the House of Lords and he found that they did not receive sufficient popular sympathy. So he resigned in 1839. Sir Robert Peel was then asked to form a Ministry but a difficulty arose regarding the Ladies of the Bedchamber. Peel wanted the dismissal of the ladies who were related to the members of the old Government; this the queen refused to do. Melbourne came to the rescue of the queen and agreed to continue the Government. The financial difficulties of the Government increased and in 1841 the Whig Ministry was defeated on the proposal that there

should be a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter of imported corn. In the next General Elections the Conservatives were in a majority of ninety-one. Robert Peel then formed a Ministry.

Sir Robert Peel became the leader of the Tory party after its disintegration during the Reform Bill agitation. Born of a rich family he was educated at Harrow and Oxford. He was placed in the First Class in Classics and Mathematics. He entered Parliament soon after he had left College and in 1810 he became Under-Secretary for War and the Colonies. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1812 to 1818 and became a member of the Bullion Committee in 1819. Next he held the position of Home Secretary till 1826 and in this period he succeeded in reforming the Criminal Law. In the administration of Wellington he once again became the Home Secretary and it was through his efforts that the Metropolitan Police Force was established in 1829. He supported the Duke in carrying through the measure of Catholic Emancipation. The result of his espousing the cause of the Catholics was that his old constituency, the University of Oxford, refused to re-elect him and he had to come to Parliament as a member for the Borough of Tamworth. The Tory party was torn into pieces during the Reform Bill agitation and Robert Peel with great patience maintained the morale of the disorganised party. In his famous *Tamworth Manifesto* of 1834 he outlined the policy of the Conservatives. They accepted the Reform Act as a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional reform and were prepared to undertake any reforms in the best interests of the country. The old policy of opposition to any change was given up. He formed a Ministry in 1834 which lived only for a short time and refused to accept office when Queen Victoria did not agree to dismiss the ladies of the Bedchamber. But in 1841 the situation had changed. The queen had married and the Whig Ministry

had failed to improve the financial situation, so Peel had no difficulty in forming a ministry.

Peel was a protectionist but he always kept an open mind. The previous Ministry had appointed a Committee to enquire into the question of tariff. The report of the Committee changed the attitude of Peel with regard to the question. There were no less than eleven hundred and fifty different rates of duty levied upon imports. But these numerous duties neither added to the revenue nor helped the growth of English industries. With the assistance of Gladstone who had joined the Ministry, he drew up the Budget of 1842, in which he abolished a large number of duties levied upon raw materials and reduced the duty upon corn by one-half. To make up the deficit he proposed the imposition of an income-tax of 7d. in the pound. The plan here adopted was the beginning of a new fiscal policy. But he did not please either the free-traders who wanted a more comprehensive programme or the protectionists who felt that already too much was conceded. As a result of this policy the situation was quite hopeful, the finances improved and the prosperity of the country returned. At the end of three years he found that the lower duties had increased trade and consequently yielded better revenue to the state. In 1815 he introduced another instalment of reforms by proposing the continuance of the income tax for three years more. With the surplus revenue thus assured he swept away the export duties and import duties on a large number of articles and reduced the import duties upon other articles. The farmers got alarmed at these free-trade measures.

The Tory Party contained a large number of land lords and country gentlemen. They became dissatisfied with Peel who they thought was betraying their cause. They found in Benjamin Disraeli, then a brilliant young man of shrewd intelligence, a leader. The "Young England" as

these discontented Tories were called believed that the country would be ruined at the industrialisation and at the growth of a new class of manufacturing magnates. The miseries of the working men increased on account of the development of the factories. Disraeli felt embittered when Peel refused him office, and therefore attacked the Prime Minister by saying that he walked away with the clothes of the Whigs while they were bathing. Peel had no originality in his policy of free-trade, it was the doctrine of the Whigs and his conservatism was an organised hypocrisy. The policy would only serve the manufacturers as thereby they would be able to obtain cheap labour.

The farmers did not care much to enquire into the condition of the wage-earners. The activities of the Anti-Corn Law League on the other hand made the free-trade movement very popular. The bad harvests of a few years in succession increased the miseries of the poor. The total failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1845, where half the population lived upon potato brought home the necessity of removing the Corn Law to Peel. He was moved by the appeal of Cobden who said in Parliament: "Will it be believed in future ages that in a country periodically on the point of actual famine—at a time when its inhabitants subsisted on the lowest food, the very roots of the earth—there was a law in existence which virtually prohibited the importation of bread ?" Sir Robert Peel became a convert to the doctrine of free-trade and explained his views before the Cabinet on November 26, 1845. But most of the Conservative Ministers opposed the abolition of the Corn Law. This led Peel to resign office. Lord John Russell, the leader of the Whigs, had supported the abolition in a letter to his constituents in the City of London from Edinburgh. He was asked by the queen to form a Whig Ministry but Lord Grey was not willing to work with Palmerston and Russell

failed to form a Ministry. Peel was then asked to withdraw his resignation. Some of the Conservative Ministers who were opposed to the abolition withdrew but Peel was assured of the support of the Whigs. In January he brought in two Bills, one to remove the Corn Law in three years and the other to abolish protective duties upon a large number of manufactured articles imported from other countries. England became a free-trade country and did not depart from this principle till the economic situation was rudely attacked by the effects of the Great War (1914-18).

Peel was very severely criticised for supporting free-trade as in the last General Elections he came to Parliament as a protectionist. But he had studied the public opinion very carefully and when he found what the verdict of the country would be he did not stick to the party discipline and rendered a great service to the nation by his bold stand. Free importation of grain lowered the price of food-stuff and the manufactures increased on account of the cheap raw materials. England competed with the foreign countries and her trade increased within a short time. But the Conservatives did not forgive their leader for giving away their cause ; a vote of want of confidence was carried against him by a majority of 73 (June 26, 1846). The Whigs did not support Peel in his Irish policy and on the passage of the vote of censure he resigned. From that day his political career came to an end although he remained a member of Parliament till his death on July 2, 1850. The remnants of his party were known as Peelites. Some of them gradually went over to the Whig party now known as the Liberals. The work that Peel began was carried on by Gladstone in the Aberdeen Ministry. Gladstone became Chancellor of Exchequer, and in the Budget of 1855 he removed the duties on the materials for manufacture, reduced the duty on tea, abolished the duty on soap and in various other ways tried

to improve international trade. He entered into a commercial treaty with France in 1860, and to give effect to the principle of free-trade he abolished 361 duties which were then levied on manufactured goods. Whatever duties were left they did not afford any protection to the English industries. They were retained with the sole object of bringing revenue to the exchequer. The articles were so selected that they were not produced in the country and people had to pay the taxes in the form of increased prices.

Factory Legislation. The growth of industries in England increased the number of working men who had no lands of their own to live upon and no other source of income except the wages they could obtain. The condition of the children was really very miserable. A large number of the orphans were employed in the factories as apprentices. No attention was paid to their health or living. The first Factory Act of 1801 prohibited the employment of children under nine as apprentices, and tried to improve their lot by limiting the hours of work to twelve hours a day and no night work. But as there was no provision for the enforcement of these conditions they were scarcely observed.

There was a movement by a few philanthopists to remove the miseries of the poor workers but the manufacturers and the economists did not favour the interference of the Government in the relations between the employers and the employees. They argued that the interests of the country would be best served by the play of the principles of free competition. There was one employer of noble intentions, Robert Owen, who in his mills at New Lanark introduced a number of reforms. He opened schools for the children of the labourers, started a cheap store for the supply of provisions, and distributed the profits of the store among them. He gave practical demonstration of the good results of welfare work

among the working men. The condition of the "living machinery" was the main object of his consideration, and the good work which he started received wide attention.

The economists had generally supported the doctrine of *laissez faire* but the soundness of the principle of humanitarianism appealed to John Stuart Mill, and his writings changed the old doctrine of non-interference, specially with regard to children and women. Through the efforts of Hume and Place the workers were permitted to form their combinations whenever they demanded to get an increase in their wages or to reduce their hours of work (1824).

In 1819 the principles of the Act of 1801 were applied to all children but these laws did not provide for the education of the children. Parliament was in a mood to reform the social evils in 1832. Shortly after the passing of the great constitutional measure it abolished the slave-trade, and Lord Ashley, a noble-hearted philanthropist, initiated the Factory Act of 1833 which not only limited the hours of work but also provided for the appointment of inspectors vested with power to enforce the regulations. The Act was intended for all workers in the textile industries, and the work between 8-30 P.M. and 5-30 A.M. was prohibited. Women and children were not permitted to work more than twelve hours a day. A large number of laws affecting labour in the factories were enacted between 1832 and 1880. The half-time system for children, by which they could not work full time unless they were more than thirteen, was passed in 1842. By the Education Act of 1918 attendance at school was made compulsory up to the age of fourteen, so the Act of 1841 became inoperative. The regulations were in the first instance framed to safeguard the interests of labour in the factories. In 1844 the child labour was prohibited in cotton as well as silk factories. But the condition of labour in the mines was anything but satisfactory.

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1840 to enquire into the state of things in the mines. It was found that there the children at the age of five or six had sometimes to work for twelve to fourteen hours a day. They lived a miserable life in the midst of filth and all sorts of insanitary and degrading conditions. Women and children had to drag heavy trucks through narrow roadways underground. Lord Ashley succeeded in getting a legislation which prohibited the employment of women and girls underground, and also of boys of less than ten years of age. Besides it was further provided that a child between ten and thirteen might not be employed for more than three days in a week. After persistent agitation the hours of work for women and children in all factories were limited to ten hours a day. Regulations providing greater safety were subsequently passed. The provisions of forty-five Acts were consolidated in Cross's Factory and Workshop Act of 1878. Similar measures were passed by a number of bills to ensure the safety and comfort of the wage-earner. The Factory and Workshop Act of 1901 superseded all the previous acts and contained in one code all the regulations regarding factory labour. The factories are regularly inspected, the accidents are reported and every precaution is taken to ensure safety.

Trade Unions. The beginning of the industrial revolution made the wage-earner thoroughly dependent upon capital. The workers were forbidden to form unions. By the law of 1824 they were allowed to combine but could not organise strikes, the only effective method of compelling the employers to consider their demands. The capitalists were still very powerful, the working men were very poor and mostly ignorant. They had no faith in themselves and looked up to the rich employers for favours. The Reform Act of 1832 widened their outlook, the humanitarian activities of the period improved their condition and they put their

political demands in the People's Charter. The failure of the Chartist movement led them to organise the trade-union on a sounder basis. They realised that without a strong organisation of their own they would not be able to get their claims recognised. The writings of socialistic thinkers in Europe and England influenced their thoughts but their activities were still mainly determined by the old policy of competition. Their unions were "aristocratic" or exclusive in spirit. They tried to get their wages increased by limiting the number of workers and apprentices, reducing the hours of work and limiting the output of the goods so that they might bring a better price. Their programme was supported by the Christian Socialists like Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes (author of *Tom Brown's School Days*). A strike was organised by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in 1852, but the strikers could not hold out long. They were then forced by their masters to sign a document cutting off their connection with trade-unionism. But they could not remain faithful to this suicidal pledge.

Within a short time the workers enlisted the sympathy of John Bright, the leader of the Anti-Corn Law League. Bright believed that the trade-unions were very useful for bringing about good relations between labour and capital and they should be recognised as legal institutions. He had a big following among the Radicals who espoused the cause of the working men. It was under his influence that Gladstone proposed to extend franchise to the members of the labouring class, but he did not receive the full support of his party. Next year Disraeli introduced a measure which was greatly modified in the interest of the workers. The working men became a political power and the parties in Parliament tried to enlist their sympathy by supporting the trade-union movement, which became henceforth an important factor in the life of the English people. Both the Liberals

and the Conservatives vied with each other to extend the privileges of trade-union. In 1875 Disraeli by a law made "peaceful picketing" a recognised method of settling labour disputes. Men could persuade "blacklegs" to join them in putting pressure upon the capitalists but could not use threats.

Trade-unions had become by this process a power in the land. A Trade-Union Congress was organised in 1868 and it has been held annually since then in the important cities of the United Kingdom. The unions have influenced the life of the people in two ways: they have improved the economic condition of the men and have broadened the basis of the state by making it more and more democratic. In the General Elections of 1874 the working men for the first time put thirteen candidates for election and two of them were returned. The promoters of trade-unions were till then aristocratic in spirit but a new philosophy was preached by the socialists who advocated nationalisation of land and capital and abolition of private property and personal gain. The extension of education made the old method of benevolent work unnecessary. The workers in their trade-unions demanded complete control over the affairs of state. In the London Dock strike of 1889 a large number of poor unskilled workers forced the authorities to concede their demands. The success of this strike marks a turning-point in the history of trade-unionism. The poor labourers showed the way of successful agitation and trade-unions grew in almost every trade. Moreover, it established the principle that the wages secured by the trade-union became the standard rate. It was considered unfair for any public body to pay less than the standard rate even if there were men willing to accept less. Trade-unions have organised friendly societies for helping men when out of employment or disabled for work. They also used their funds for political purposes. In the

matter of trade disputes the unions in the beginning voiced the opinion of the workers. Gradually it became a custom to appoint Arbitration and Conciliation Boards. In 1892 it was settled by an agreement known as the Brooklands Agreement that no strike could take place in the Textile Trade until the dispute had been considered by a joint committee of masters and men. Parliament gave statutory power to the Board of Trade to set up a joint committee or appoint an Arbitrator to decide a dispute after proper enquiry (1896). This plan was confirmed by another act in 1911, which provided for a permanent Industrial Commission.

Trade-unionism soon developed into a democratic movement and some of the members wanted to extend the influence of the unions by entering Parliament. Two engineers named Mann and Burns were the leaders of the democratic movement. Keir Hardy formed the Independent Labour Party and was elected to Parliament in 1882. It was through his exertion that the Trade Union Congress took an active interest in politics, and out of these activities the present Labour Party has been evolved. As a matter of fact no distinction can be made between the Trade-Union Congress and the Labour Party.

In the strike of the Taff Vale Railway Company in 1901 the employees brought a complaint against the Trade-Union for certain illegal actions. The House of Lords as the Supreme Court of Appeal held that a trade-union could be sued for damages for any action committed by its members. The decision created a great commotion. The Labour Party secured fifty-one seats in the General Elections of 1906 and with the influence it exercised with the Liberals it got the Trade Disputes Act enacted which removed the mischief of the Taff Vale decision and secured further privileges. Another interesting case happened in 1909, when the House of Lords decided on a complaint preferred by a man

named Osborne that it was illegal for the trade-unions to pay the members of the Party out of the trade-union funds. The Parliament Act of 1911 remedied this problem by providing for the payment of the members of Parliament at the rate of £400 a year. Another Act was passed in 1913 allowing trade-unions to levy a special political fund, but the contribution was made optional. Any member could claim to be exempted from the subscription.

A general strike was organised in the month of May 1926. It was a strike against the Government and a terrible challenge to the British Institutions. Sir John Simon, a leading authority on trade-union law, held that a general strike was illegal and on the 12th May the strike was called off. The way in which the general strike threatened the peace of the country made it easy for a new law regarding Trade-Unions and the settlement of trade disputes to be passed. The Trade Disputes Act of 1926 is the last measure guiding the relations between capital and labour. People demanded reforms so that secret ballot before strikes might be stopped, political levies might be discontinued, and peaceful picketing might be made illegal, and that the accounts of the unions might be audited by men appointed by the Government. The Trade Union Congress in 1927 inaugurated a new policy and in a way admitted that the weapon of strike which had been the chief instrument for settling trade disputes was futile and mischievous. A new method of approaching the problem was adopted at a joint conference representating the leading employers and the General Council of the Trade Union Congress which took place in 1928. A new Trade Disputes Bill was introduced in 1931 but it was not proceeded with on account of the opposition of the Liberals. In spite of the difficulties in their way the trade-unions exercise a great influence in the political life of Britain.

Social Legislation. With the extension of franchise to the working men the doctrine of *laissez faire* has been abandoned. Every thoughtful person now believes that the community as a whole gains by the existence of a contented, happy and prosperous working class. The Tory landlords in the beginning proposed several measures to safeguard the interests of the labourers as a countermove against the movement for the abolition of Corn Laws and the adoption of the principle of free-trade. Children of the working men had to be educated, proper accommodation had to be provided for the housing of the workers, their hours of work had to be limited, ample provision had to be made for their recreation and leisure, and the vicinity of the mills should be made healthy. The labours of Lord Shaftesbury in promoting the welfare of the workers bore ample fruit. Germany under Bismarck went far ahead of England by providing insurance benefits for the old and disabled workers. Before 1880 the English legislators paid their attention to provide facilities to the labourers to improve their lot. The conditions of the working men have since then been studied with greater care. The House of Lords appointed a Committee in 1889 to enquire into the "Sweating" system by which the labourers had to work long hours in order to obtain the minimum wages to maintain their body and soul together. The inquiries instituted by Charles Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, threw a lurid light into the miseries of the poor people. It was discovered that about one-third population of London was in a chronic state of poverty.

The Government issued regulations to prevent accidents in dangerous trades, and later on laws were passed to ensure compensation for injuries received. By an Act passed in 1847 the nearest relation of a workman could demand compensation if by his death by accident he was dep-

rived of his main support. The Employers' Liability Act passed in 1880 provided that compensation to the extent of three years' earnings could be claimed. The *Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906* extended the benefit to a large number of trades. A minimum rate of wages was fixed in a number of trades such as clothing, box-making and chain-making by an Act in 1910, and Trade Boards were set up for the purpose. In 1913 the provisions of the Act were extended to the coal mines.

The rise of the Labour Party in Parliament has brought a number of laws which have provided various benefits upon the workers. The benefits regarding education will be discussed in a seperate place. The Liberal Government under Asquith introduced a measure in 1908 to grant relief to the aged poor. The Old Age Pensions Act is a benevolent legislation which all parties agreed to work out. The rate of pensions has been modified at times.

The National Insurance Act of 1911 is a measure of greater importance. The law has been further modified by the National Health Insurance Act of 1918. Every person, a boy or girl, a man or woman, having an income of less than £160 a year could contribute four pence a week if a man and three pence a week if a woman. The employer had also to pay the equal amount. The money thus paid was supplemented by the Imperial Exchequer and the worker could claim from the state in return sick pay, free medical attendance and medicine. If thrown out of employment for any cause other than strike he could expect unemployment pay. By two other Acts of 1920 and 1921 all persons are compulsorily insured against unemployment.

In order that the workers might not find any difficulty in getting work a system of Labour Exchanges was set up in 1909. Labour Exchange offices have been established

in almost all important cities. In 1916 the name was changed to "Employment Exchange." Through these exchanges the employers are put in touch with the candidates for work. Special arrangements have also been made for young people under eighteen. Juvenile Employment Bureau gives advice to boys and girls seeking employment and a bureau is attached to an Employment Exchange or the Education Office. The nation has now equipped itself for a struggle for existence. The strong members have to lend their help to the weak and all try to maintain the nation in a fit condition for competition. Further benefits have been granted to the workers by the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1913. By this law schemes for the promotion of the midwifery service, for providing maternity hospital treatment, for improving the health of nursing mothers and young children, and for the physical welfare of the children under five are supervised by the Ministry of Health and contributions are made from the state funds. The Housing and Town planning schemes promoted by the Government through Local bodies have provided healthy dwellings to the working men. Labour is now absolutely free and there are sufficient facilities for its development. It has not that disadvantage from which it was suffering in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The employment of machinery has democratised the state as it has democratised the system of industrial organisation.

CHAPTER XL.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

Reform Bill of 1832. The British Parliament in the beginning of the nineteenth century was almost as it was in the seventeenth except the addition of the representatives of Scotland and Ireland. There had been no change in the franchise or in the distribution of seats in England and Wales since 1688. But the industrial revolution had completely reconstructed the English society and the population had been distributed in the new centres of business. The northern England which was very thinly populated now became the most prosperous part on account of the new industries. Cities like Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham and Sheffield rose into importance. But according to the system of election then in vogue these cities were not at all represented. According to a very old practice each county could send two members and two boroughs two members to the House of Commons. The House of Lords was a hereditary chamber except in the case of the Bishops. In the counties only the freeholders of 40s. were entitled to vote ; in case of boroughs there was no uniform system : in some cases all the rate-payers could vote, in some freemen, in some other boroughs only the members of the municipal corporation could vote, while in others anybody having a single room with a fireplace possessed franchise. The last class of voters enjoined what was known as 'pot-boiling' franchise and they were called "pot-wallers" or "potwallapers." These boroughs lost their importance and it was found towards the end of the eighteenth century that out of 513 members for England and Wales 70 members were returned by boroughs which had

no electors, 90 by boroughs with less than 50, and 37 with less than 100 voters. A large number of boroughs were controlled by the peers or the king, and it was estimated that before the reforms of 1832 not even one-third of the members of the House of Commons represented the free choice of the electors. Out of a total population of 16,000,000 at the time only about 160,000 were voters, and it was analysed by Oldfield in 1816 that 487 out of 658 members were nominated by their rich patrons. The members representing the counties must possess landed estate of the annual value of £600 and representing borough £ 300.

The system in vogue led to great corruption, and the seats were purchased by the candidates for election. Many thoughtful men felt the necessity of reforms and societies were formed for carrying on agitation. In 1780 the Society for Constitutional Information demanded universal suffrage and equal electoral districts. The same year Burke's motion for the abolition of sinecures was rejected but a resolution of Dunning was carried, in which was urged that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished." Men of the type of Burke who belonged to the Rockingham party supported only the Economic Reform but they were not prepared to go with Fox and the Whigs in pressing for Parliamentary reform. The Duke of Richmond introduced a motion in the House of Lords for manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments. But the cause of reforms suffered a set back on account of the Gordon riots against the grant of concessions to the Catholics. Burke's Economical Reform Bill was carried in 1782 in a modified form but that did not deprive the king of his right to exercise patronage. When the younger Pitt came to power he supported the idea of parliamentary reform but did not accept the plan of the Whigs. He attacked the secret influence of the Crown and

condemned the corrupt method of election by the borough-owners. He proposed that the owners of the boroughs might be offered some money as compensation (1785). But this did not appeal to Parliament, and the Bill was rejected. The *Society of the Friends of the People* led by a young Whig, Lord Grey, continued the agitation for reforms but the French Revolution stood in the way. The attention of the nation had to be devoted to ward off the danger from France and all schemes of domestic reforms were held back.

After Waterloo the movement for Parliamentary reforms became strong. There was a growing demand for the transference of power from the landowners to the masses. Sir Francis Burdett moved in the House of Commons in 1819 for the grant of universal suffrage. This principle was not accepted till a century later.

The popular party did not give up hope. The Whigs led by Grey in the House of Lords and Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell in the Commons were in favour of reforms, but the Tories were opposed. Lord John Russell wanted to move cautiously and first attacked the grossest evil by moving for the disfranchisement of four rotten boroughs in Devon and Cornwall. The motion was received with favour by the Commons but thrown out by the Lords (1820). The next year he moved for the disfranchisement of Grampound alone and succeeded in carrying the measure. His comprehensive scheme of reform however did not receive any support. The Commons agreed to the disfranchisement of another rotten borough, Penryn, in 1827, but the plan was not carried in the form of a Parliamentary Act. Then were repealed the Test and Corporation Acts and Parliament agreed to the Catholic Emancipation Act in spite of the opposition of the Tories.

The movement for Catholic Emancipation thoroughly shattered the Tory party and the followers of Canning joined

the Whigs. The overthrow of the Bourbons in France in the revolution of 1830 kindled the hopes of the reformers in England. A new Parliament was elected after the death of George IV with a strong party of reformers. Wellington was opposed to all proposals of reform. A motion was carried against the Ministry on November 15, and then Wellington resigned. Grey formed a ministry with the Whigs and Canningites. They were all in favour of reform, and shortly after the formation of the ministry a Committee was formed to draw up a Bill. The Committee consisted of Lord Durham, Sir James Graham, Lord Duncannon and Lord John Russell. Later on the Duke of Richmond was added to the Committee. The Bill as drafted by the Committee was introduced by Lord John Russell on March 1, 1831 in the House of Commons. The Tories as a body opposed the measure as revolutionary. The Bill obtained the support of the majority by one in the Second reading and when a hostile amendment moved by General Gascoyne was carried the Bill was withdrawn. There was a tremendous agitation in the country for " The Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill " Parliament was dissolved on April 22 and in the General Elections the Whigs came back with a substantial majority.

A second reform Bill slightly modified was introduced on June 24, and was carried in the Commons by a heavy majority. But it was thrown out by the Lords by a majority of 41 (October 8). The action of the Lords led to serious riots all over the country, meetings expressing indignation were held everywhere, and the Birmingham Political Union resolved not to pay taxes if the Reform Bill were again rejected. Macaulay then a promising member of Parliament urged the Ministry to persist in the policy and argued that there were only two ways in which societies could be governed—by public opinion and by the

sword. "To govern Great Britain by the sword, so wild a thought has never occurred to any public man of any party," said the speaker.

The Bill was introduced in the House of Commons for the third time on December 12, 1831, and after going through all the stages it was passed by the Commons (March 23, 1832). The Lords were now in a difficult position; they dared not reject it altogether, and it would have been suicidal on their part to accept it unaltered. They adopted a motion of Lord Lyndhurst by a majority of 184 to 175, urging the postponement of the disfranchisement clauses. The attitude of the Lords led the Ministers to advise the king to create a number of new Peers who would enable the Government to carry the measure through the House of Lords. The king was not willing to use coercion to ensure success of the Bill. The Grey Ministry then put in their resignation in the hands of the king who could not replace the Whig Ministers by any other party. Lyndhurst, the Speaker Manners-Sutton and the Duke of Wellington all failed to form a ministry. The king had no other alternative than to recall Grey and to give him the permission to create a number of new Peers, first calling up the eldest sons of the Peers, so that he might not have any difficulty in getting the Bill passed by the Lords. In order to save the honour of the king Wellington withdrew his opposition so that the necessity of creating new peers might not arise. The battle was thus won, and the Bill received the Royal assent on June 7.

The Reform Bill as it came out finally totally disfranchised 56 boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants and deprived 30 boroughs of one member each. 143 seats thus released were re-distributed as follows: 65 to English and Welsh counties, 44 to 22 two-membered English boroughs and 21 to single member boroughs, 8 to

Scotland and 5 to Ireland. There was, therefore, no change in the number of members of the House of Commons. A uniform system of franchise was established for the boroughs: freemen in corporate towns, if existing before 1831 and all householders paying £10 in rates in the year were given the franchise. In the counties besides the 40s. freeholders copyholders, long-lease-holders and tenants-at-will paying £50 as rent in the year were given the right to vote. The franchise was also extended in Scotland and Ireland. Besides redistributing the seats and lowering the voting qualifications the system of election was improved by the rule that before a general election a register of electors was to be prepared so that no one could vote whose name did not appear on the register. This rule was framed to prevent fraud. Although the success of the Bill was due to the persistent agitation of the people it only transferred power to the lower middle class. The main power still remained with the aristocracy although the reforms opened the floodgates to the tide of democracy. The industrial bourgeoisie now obtained a share in the administration but the masses remained as helpless as before. This led to the Chartist movement which has been described already. The accession of the industrialists to political power helped the growth of trade and commerce, and it was through their efforts that the free-trade principle was adopted by England.

Reformation of Municipalities.—Since the agitation over Parliamentary reforms the Party fighting for the constitutional change became known as the Liberal and the party opposed to it was called the Conservative. The Whig Ministry was a purely aristocratic body of landlords; the reforms scarcely effected any change. But with the extension of the franchise to the middle class the character of the Government was changed. The

Ministers could no longer ignore the opinion of the people. A number of reforms were carried after the enactment of the new constitution. Slave-trade was abolished, the Poor Law was amended and a Commission was appointed to enquire into the condition of Local Government.

Lord Melbourne became the Prime Minister in 1835 and he passed the Municipal Reforms Act the same year. It was a measure of first rate importance. The government of the English towns was oligarchical, and the men enjoying power carried on the administration of the towns in their own interests. The number of boroughs had been impressed by the autocratic kings, and their government had been vested in self-elected corporations with a Mayor, Aldermen, and the Common Councillors. These corporations did not in any way depend upon the wishes of the people. The boroughs were created by Royal Charters and they enjoyed political privileges according to the terms contained in those documents. There was no uniformity in the system of borough administration. Their right of returning members to Parliament was withdrawn by the Reform Act of 1832. But still they enjoyed large powers, and had in their possession considerable corporate property, and enjoyed large income. The Royal Commission came across many scandalous transactions of these corporations and they reported that the existing municipalities did not possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of the people and that there was distrust of the self-elected municipal councils which were not subject to popular control. They further reported that the revenues that ought to be applied for public advantage were diverted from their legitimate use and were sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, and sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people.

Besides the chartered boroughs there were a number of municipal towns which had grown up with the new industrial development of the country. These new areas had no organised system of Government, and they did not perform the essential duties of modern municipalities such as street-cleaning, drainage and other things. The Act that was passed by the reformed Parliament set the municipalities in order. The constitutions of all the old boroughs were remodelled on a uniform plan. In every borough there was an elected body to perform the duties of the municipal government. The elected Councillors could appoint a number of Aldermen, and the Councillors and Aldermen together could annually elect a Mayor. The corporation thus constituted was entrusted with all the duties of local administration and could raise funds and spend them for public purposes.

The Act applied to the towns but as England became predominantly a country of town-dwellers it marked a stage of progressive democratisation of the English life. These corporations gradually assumed greater responsibilities and thus placed under the control of the people the affairs which directly affected them. In course of time similar measures were introduced for Ireland. The Burgh Act of 1833 had already provided elected municipalities for Scotland. But the democratisation of rural bodies did not take place till 1888.

The Leap in the dark : the Second Reform Bill. The Reform Act of 1832 did not satisfy the radicals. Those dissatisfied with the measure strengthened the Chartist movement. The Anti-Corn Law agitation created a new situation. The leaders of the League realised the necessity of enlisting the support of the working class. On the fall of Peel the Liberals under Lord John Russell came

to power. The Russell Ministry lasted till 1852. Russell at first considered that the Reform of 1832 was the final step in constitutional progress, but the Chartist movement and the movement for the abolition of the Corn Laws changed his views and he became an ardent advocate for further reforms. He introduced a Reform Bill in 1852 but as his Party did not come to any agreement regarding the exact nature of the reform the Bill was thrown out. Then the Conservatives under Derby came into office. The Derby Ministry however came to a speedy end and it was replaced by a Coalition Ministry with Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister. The period of the administration was taken up by the Crimean War and as there was difference of opinion among the Ministers about the policy to be adopted there, Palmerston was appointed Prime Minister in 1855. Russell tried to introduce another Reform Bill, but did not succeed on account of the indifference of Palmerston towards domestic reforms. In 1858 Palmerston was defeated on a measure which he had introduced to satisfy the French. The Conservatives then came into office. In the Derby Ministry Disraeli was the leader in the House of Commons. Although Disraeli was a Conservative he wanted to win the support of the working men by proposing in their favour the extension of the franchise. At his instance the Jews were admitted to Parliament and the property qualification for membership was removed. Palmerston was called back to power in 1859 on a defeat suffered by the Conservatives and the Liberals remained in office till 1866. Palmerston died in 1865 and in his place Russell, now promoted to the House of Lords as Earl Russell, became the Prime Minister. The most important man in his Ministry was Gladstone who ardently advocated the extension of franchise. A Reform Bill was introduced in the House Commons on March 12, 1866. The necessity of reforms had been urged by the philosophi-

cal liberals ; the number of urban population had greatly increased, and it was found that out of 5,390,000 adult males only 900,000 were entitled to vote. Gladstone's Reform Bill proposed to reduce the borough franchise to £7 on the rental, and the county franchise to £14, and to extend the franchise to the lodgers, compound householders and the depositors in the Savings Banks of £50 continuous deposits. It was expected that by this process about 400,000 persons more would be enfranchised. The opposition was led by Sir Robert Lowe who had gathered around himself a band of members bent upon wrecking the Bill. The critics were given the mock name of the "Adullamites of the Cave" by John Bright who had worked so strenuously for the reform. On a hostile amendment to substitute rateable value for the gross rental the Government was defeated by 315 to 304, and the Liberal Ministry then resigned.

Russell brought his political career to an end by this resignation. The Queen did not like the change of Ministry on a question of detail but Gladstone persisted in the resignation and the Queen had no other alternative than to ask Derby to form a Ministry. Disraeli as before became the leader in the House of Commons. The new Government was confronted by a persistent agitation for reforms. John Bright organised a widespread campaign ; it is said that about 1000 meetings were held in the provinces. The accession of Lord Derby was a declaration of war against the working classes, was the burden of the argument in these demonstrations. The Government now agreed to settle the question by the consent of all the parties and proceeded to consider the points in the form of resolutions. Gladstone and his party managed to get most of their points embodied. Finally the Bill as drafted was introduced on February 25, and it received the royal assent on August 15,1867. When the Bill was being dis-

cussed in the House of Lords Lord Derby remarked that they were taking a "leap in the dark". The Bill as it was finally passed extended the franchise in the towns to all male householders, all lodgers paying £10 a year in room-rent and in the counties to men occupying a house worth £12 a year. Some redistribution of seats was also effected, the county representation was increased by 25 seats, the boroughs got 22 additional seats, the London University got 1 and the Scotch Universities 2, 6 boroughs returning two members and 5 single member boroughs were totally disfranchised and 35 other boroughs lost one member each. The total number of members remained the same.

The spirit of the reforms was kept up in a few subsequent legislations. In 1868 the Lords gave up their old privilege of voting by proxy, and in 1872 another measure was carried by which open voting in the elections was abandoned and henceforth vote by ballot was introduced. The House of Commons also allowed the election petitions to be considered by the judges instead of by the House itself. These changes have greatly helped the democratic government.

Gladstone and Disraeli. Although the Reform Bill of 1868 was sponsored by Disraeli they were the ideas of the Liberal leader Gladstone that were embodied in it. After the retirement of Russell from the leadership of the British politics Gladstone became the most powerful personality. He was born at Liverpool in 1809. He came from a rich family and was educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford. He was a brilliant student in the University and obtained Double First Class in Classics and Mathematics. He was very popular among the students and became the President of the Oxford Union, an honour very much prized by the undergraduates. He became a member of the House of Commons at the early age of 23, in the first reformed Parlia-

ment of 1832, and remained a member till 1895 except for two sessions.

In the beginning he was a Tory and followed Peel who made him a Junior Lord of the Treasury in 1834, and Vice-President of the Board of Trade in 1841. He supported Peel in his Corn Law policy and with the retirement of Peel he joined the Whigs as a Peelite. When Palmerston became the Prime Minister he declared himself to be a Liberal. Since then in office or in opposition he has been the greatest figure in British politics. He was a scholar and a man of deep piety. In 1838 he published a book on "The State in its Relations with the Church". In spite of his multifarious duties as a statesman he kept up his studies in Classics and wrote on Homer and Bishop Butler. Whatever he did he put his whole energy in it. A man of transparent character he elevated English politics to a high level by advocating the cause of the weak and the smaller nationalities. Politics to him was a solemn duty and he was always sincere in what he did. His oratory was splendid and people listened with admiration his lucid exposition of the budget proposals or the advocacy of the important reforms. His own private interests never interfered with his public duties. He was an earnest member of the Church of England but he threw his whole soul in the Irish question and fought strenuously for granting full freedom to the Irish people in the matter of the Church. He was a financier like Peel whom he considered to be the greatest man he had known in his life.

The name of Gladstone stands for nobility, honesty and true liberalism which cherishes good-will towards all. He clung passionately to liberty and resented if at any time there was any interference with true liberty. In the General Elections after the Second Reform Act had been put on the statute book the Liberals were returned with a heavy

majority securing 393 seats as against 265 gained by the Conservatives. The Conservative Government had lost the sympathy of their own party men. Derby and Disraeli were accused of betraying their cause. In 1868 Derby resigned and left the leadership of the party in the hands of Disraeli. The latter could not keep his party together and after the elections of 1869 resigned the Prime Ministership. Gladstone was then appointed the Prime Minister, which position he worthily filled four times.

His rival Disraeli was a few years older than himself. Benjamin Disraeli was an interesting figure in the middle of the nineteenth century. He was born in a Jewish family in 1804. His father Isaac Disraeli was a literary man of moderate means. Benjamin was educated at home, and he was trained rather desultorily but he acquired a fine sense of literary style. At the age of seventeen he was articled to a solicitor though his real interest lay in literature. At the age of twenty-two his first novel *Vivian Grey* saw the light and subsequently he produced a large number of good novels which give an idea of his genius as a versatile writer. His books contain valuable political reflections which people enjoyed immensely. He travelled widely on the continent and also in Palestine and studied there the influence that his country and race had in moulding the European civilization. It was on account of his sympathy for the Jewish culture that he supported the Turks among whom the Jews lived in comfort.

He entered Parliament as a Tory representing Maidstone in 1837. His influence with the party increased by his marriage with a rich widow who brought him immense wealth. In the beginning he had followed Peel, but when the latter advocated Free Trade he led the party of opposition known as *Young England*. By his writings and speeches he tried to uphold the dignity of the Crown and the privileges of the

landed aristocracy. He was always very polished in his manners and showed great respect to the Queen. This pleased Victoria who did not appreciate the straight talks of the puritanic Gladstone. On the repeal of the Corn Laws the Conservative party was broken up and it is said that the Conservatives were "in the wilderness." There was none among the politicians of the first rank to lead them. It was Disraeli who brought the Conservatives together and built up a strong party and gave it a constructive programme to work for. He succeeded Lord George Bentinck as the leader of the Conservative party in 1848 and became the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852 in the Derby Ministry and again in 1860. But so long as Palmerston was alive the Conservatives had no chance of carrying on the administration. As Chancellor of the Exchequer for the third time under Derby Disraeli managed to get the Reform Bill passed. Soon after he succeeded Derby as Prime Minister (1867-80). But the extension of the franchise to the working class brought the Liberals into power and drove Disraeli party into opposition (1868-74). In his seventieth year Disraeli came back to power and became the First Imperialist Prime Minister who by his powerful imagination wanted to put England at the head of a strong empire.

Gladstone was strenuous in his endeavours to extend the liberties of the nations but Disraeli was an advocate of Imperialism. The latter took up politics as a pastime and could look at things from a philosophic standpoint in a spirit of detachment. He was mysterious in his character and could confound his opponents by his diplomatic manôeuvres. He was sarcastic in his speeches and could employ sardonic phrases with great effect. Gladstone was eloquent and could carry the audience with him and could create enthusiasm even in the most abstruse financial discussions. He won the

respect and admiration of his people but Disraeli was the beloved of the nation. The two great statesmen distrusted one another; to Disraeli Gladstone was a 'sophistical windbag' while Gladstone considered him an 'insincere trifler'. Gladstone's name is associated with National Education, reform of the Army, solution of the Irish problem and parliamentary reforms, whereas Disraeli is known for social reforms in the interests of the working men and for making England a powerful state in the diplomatic circle.

National Education.

The immediate result of the extension of franchise was that the public men felt the need of increasing the literacy among the voters. Education in those days was confined to the upper classes, and it has been estimated that not more than half the children of the country received education, and the nature of education in the schools was very unsatisfactory. The public schools were very expensive and the children of the upper and middle classes only could get their education there. The church schools were well organised and the expenses in those schools were moderate but they could not arrange for the education of all. The private schools supplemented their efforts but there was no organisation to supervise the standard of education. The problem as to how to cover the country with good schools engaged the attention of the government.

The task of educating the children had devolved upon the Churches down to 1833. Shortly after the Parliamentary reform in 1832 the Government made a grant in aid of elementary education. But this did not much improve the state of things. The neglect of education in England was considered scandalous. People were led to believe that education was not the business of the

state. In 1839 Lord John Russell complained about the deficiency in the general education of the people, which he felt was not in accordance with the character of a civilized Christian nation. The Melbourne Ministry set up a new department for the purpose of spreading education, which in the beginning started as a Committee of the Privy Council. The Treasury Grant was increased and an Inspectorate, both lay and clerical, appointed. But the real difficulty in the matter was the lack of trained and efficient teachers. Russell proposed to establish a Government Normal School for the training of teachers but the scheme was stubbornly opposed by the Church party. Although a Government Training Institution could not be established within a short time a number of voluntary institutions came into existence and the Treasury Grant had risen to £100,000 a year by 1846. This considerably improved the prospects of the teachers.

To review the situation a Royal Commission was appointed in 1858 under the Chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle. The Report of the Commission was published in 1861 and on its recommendation Robert Lowe introduced a measure for an increase of state-grants to properly inspected schools, where inspection should take the form of individual examination, and that the grant should depend upon the results of such examinations. But the system of payment by results did not receive the approval of eminent educationists. On their opposition the Education Code was modified so that one-third of the grant was calculated on the basis of individual attendance and two-thirds on the results of the examinations. The number of pupils increased but still many went without any education.

With a view to cover the country with good schools W. E. Forster, Vice-President of the Council in the Glad-

stone Ministry, introduced the Elementary Education Bill in 1870. The measure laid the foundation of the modern English elementary education. The main provisions of the scheme were: (1) England and Wales were divided into school districts, with a view to survey the needs and facilities within each area; (2) the accommodation for scholars was to be provided in each district; (3) all schools were open to inspection by officers appointed by the Government and to be governed by the Education Code. The ordinary fee per scholar was not to exceed 9d a week, and if the number of voluntary schools were not sufficient then a School Board could be appointed with power to levy a rate. These boards would be elected by the Town Councils in the boroughs and by the vestry in the rural districts. The board schools were to be maintained by funds contributed equally by parents, the State and the local rates. It was also laid down that in the poor districts the boards could establish free schools and they could excuse poor parents from the fee. It was explained by the mover: "Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we rightly can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours."

The most important clause in the Bill was the authority given to the School Boards to frame bye-laws for compulsory attendance of all children between the ages of five and twelve within each district and the parents could be punished for non-attendance of their children. Further the Boards were authorised to use their discretion in applying the conscience clause by which children could not be given religious teaching against their wishes. The

Act was passed with great difficulty and the mover of the Bill Mr. Forster received a vote of censure from his constituency. It, however, laid the foundations of a truly national system of education. Within ten years the number of scholars increased considerably. In 1870 there were only about 9,000 state-aided schools and in ten years there were 14,370 voluntary schools and 3,692 board schools with about 3,000,000 children.

The principle of compulsion was not adopted till 1876. At the instance of Lord Sandon an Act was passed, by which a child below the age of ten could not be employed, and if under the age of fourteen, a certificate of educational proficiency was necessary. School Attendance Committees were set up in places where there was no School Board, and these bodies could frame bye-laws to enforce compulsory attendance. The poor parents were also entitled to draw from the Guardians of the Poor the fees of their children without incurring the disabilities of pauperism. The principle of compulsory attendance was strengthened by another law of 1880, by which the local authorities were obliged to frame bye-laws to enforce attendance. In 1890 it was made possible to establish evening continuation schools, and block grant on the basis of average attendance took the place of payment on the results of individual examinations. As a corollary to the system of compulsory attendance elementary education was made free in 1891, and the burden of the parents was taken over by the community. But still the system of education left sufficient room for reform.

Another important step was taken in 1902 when Balfour was the Prime Minister of England. There were two types of elementary schools in existence, the board schools and voluntary schools. The board schools received contributions from the national funds to supple-

ment the income from the rates; the voluntary schools also received contributions but they had also other sources of income such as voluntary contributions and proceeds from endowments, if any. All schools were subject to Government inspection, but the voluntary schools were not under public control although to improve the efficiency in education they had to seek help from the public or private charity. The Education Act of 1902 was framed with a view to unify the standard of efficiency of the various schools and to relieve their financial need. The voluntary schools were assimilated to the board schools and the former were henceforth known as non-provided schools and the latter provided. The School Boards created for the purpose were abolished and their duties were transferred to the local authorities, such as Borough Councils and County Councils. The local authorities had to maintain these schools but could not interfere in the religious teachings given in non-provided schools. The Councils also were given powers to maintain secondary schools which provided education to boys and girls of the ages of 14 to 18. They could also establish institutions for imparting technical education.

In 1899 a Board of Education was created as the authority for educational affairs. A comprehensive scheme for the improvement of education was introduced by Dr. Fisher, the Education Minister in 1918. The Act of 1902 had effected extensive developments and it was felt that boys and girls should be kept in the school for a longer period. The object of Dr. Fisher's scheme was to provide for a progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education. The local authorities were required to improve the standard of education, to meet the requirements of the older children, and to provide special as well as advanced courses of instruction. At-

tendance of children between the ages of five and fourteen was made compulsory and bye-laws could be framed by local education authorities to extend the school age to fifteen years. Part-time education had to be provided to young persons under the age of sixteen which was to be extended to eighteen later on. The grants to the schools were to be given generously out of the National Exchequer. The measure has effected great improvements in the condition of things and the people have been receiving a kind of education, which they have found to be quite helpful to the development of the national life.

The extension of franchise to almost all the able-bodied citizens has been accompanied by improvement in the system of education and the state has taken up the responsibility of placing facilities at the disposal of every body for acquiring a competence to grow into a free and full man or woman. Side by side with the development of elementary education Secondary and Higher education has also made considerable progress. A Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Clarendon was appointed in 1861 to enquire into the condition of the Public Schools and on the recommendation of the Commission the Public Schools Act was passed in 1868. The public schools which were private ventures were reorganised under new governing bodies and reforms were introduced in their curriculum. Another Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Taunton enquired into the condition of the other Secondary schools which were mostly endowed. On the basis of its Report the Endowed Schools Act was passed in 1869. The income of the charitable trusts was better employed as a result of these measures. But the real problem of secondary education was not touched till the local authorities were given powers to organise education. The County Councils were established

in 1888 and in 1889 the local bodies got the authority to levy a rate not exceeding one penny in the pound for providing technical and manual instruction. With more funds available from other sources the County and Borough Councils managed to organize a coherent system cf secondary education. By the Act of 1902 children from the elementary schools were provided free places in the secondary schools managed by the County and Borough Councils and thus a broad educational ladder was built up for clever and diligent children who would otherwise have gone without proper training. According to the figures of 1929 about one-fourth the total number of the pupils in the secondary schools are provided with free places and a large number are educated with the help of scholarships. Nine-tenths of the secondary schools receive state aid and the local councils control about one-third of the schools.

The system of education in the secondary schools considerably improved when the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge instituted the system of Local Examinations in 1858. The two universities established a Joint Board for holding the examinations in 1873, and granted certificates which enabled the students to enter the universities without the preliminary examinations. The secondary schools were brought into contact with the universities and education imparted in those schools had a great value for the training of the citizens. An eminent thinker said: Elementary education unless crowned by something higher, is not only barren but may be dangerous. It is not well to teach our democracy to read unless we teach it to think.

The improvement in the system of secondary education aimed at supplementing the elementary education and

teaching the new democracy to think, and to make the best use of life.

The universities did not escape the hands of the reformers. The old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were exclusively Church of England institutions but the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act made their position anomalous. The Reform Act of 1832 widened the outlook of the people but the two important centres of learning remained in the mediæval condition. At Oxford the students had to submit to a religious test and at Cambridge the Non-conformists could reside and appear in the examinations but could obtain no degrees. Lord John Russell felt the iniquity and appointed two Royal Commissions in 1850 to enquire into the affairs of the Universities. The Oxford Report pointed out the national character of the University and it was urged that the benefits of education imparted there should be widely diffused. On the recommendation of the Commissions the religious tests were abolished except for the degree of Divinity although the Dissenters were not allowed to have a share in the government of the Universities. Reforms in the direction of removing the restrictions were opposed by Gladstone. But by a fresh legislation in 1871 the restrictions were abolished except in case of college headships and in few other positions. Further reforms were carried out by Executive Commissions appointed at the instance of Lord Salisbury in 1876. Besides the removal of the restrictions the principle of local examinations was further extended so that these Universities became mother-cities of intellectual colonies. University colleges were established in provincial towns which have gradually developed into new Universities. After the Great

War the old universities received grant in aid from the State and thus submitted to an enquiry into their affairs. Education has thus definitely become an affair of the State in all the stages although interference in the management of the chartered bodies has not been contemplated.

The Third Reform Act.

The Parliamentary reforms of 1867 extended the franchise to the urban population although the rights were desired by the people in the rural areas as well. Besides this there were other problems connected with the elections. The voters had to be protected from the intimidation of the powerful candidates and the corrupt practices had to be stopped. The attention of the public was drawn to these questions. Some other measures were also taken in further democratising the system of government. Gladstone in his first administration undertook several activities to associate the people in the actual business of the government. The radical thinkers stressed upon the importance of testing merit by public examinations. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century only the rich people could join the public services. A system of qualifying examinations was instituted in 1855 and the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service started in 1854. The system increased the opportunities of the meritorious boys and it was applied to the Home Civil Service by an Order in Council in 1870. Only in a few departments like the Foreign Office and the Education Department the practice has not been fully employed.

Similar reforms were carried out in the Army organisation. A co-ordination between the War Office and the Commander-in-Chief was effected by removing the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief from the Horse

Guards to the War Office. The Commander-in-Chief became a subordinate of the Secretary of State for War and the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance and the Financial Secretary were also placed under the control of the Secretary of State. It may be noted here that the post of the Commander-in-Chief was abolished in 1904. A further step in this direction was the transfer of the control of the auxiliary forces from the Lord-Lieutenants to the Crown. But the most important step towards democratisation was the abolition of the system by which commissions in the army could be obtained by purchase. As this reform affected the vested interests of the aristocracy the Lords had rejected the Army Regulation Bill, but as this was a measure affecting the prerogative of the Crown Gladstone brought about the measure by cancelling the system of purchase by a Royal Warrant. (November 1, 1871). The procedure adopted by Gladstone was criticised by Disraeli as a conspiracy against the privilege of the Lords but the action was strictly constitutional. The War Minister, Mr. Cardwell, improved the Army by abolishing the system of enlistment for life and by associating each regiment with a district. He created the system of 'linked' battalions, one serving at home and the other abroad.

The Ballot Act of 1872 was passed by Parliament. The radicals had demanded the measure long since. It was included in the People's Charter and formed a part of the programme of the constitutional reformers. A committee had been appointed by Parliament in 1869 to enquire into the method of election and the Liberal Ministry considered the adoption of secret voting as highly desirable. A Bill was introduced in 1870 but it was not proceeded with that year. A second Bill was introduced next year for applying the ballot system in

Parliamentary as well as municipal elections. It was not accepted by the Lords. Another Bill was moved by Mr. Forster in 1872 and it was passed with some amendments by the Lords. By this Act secret voting was introduced in the elections and the practice of public nominations was abolished. The operation of the Act was limited to eight years on an amendment by the Lords, but since 1880 the Act has been annually renewed. The abolition of the public nominations has made the elections more orderly and the secret voting has protected the voters against the pressure of undue influence.

The extension of franchise by the Act of 1867 could not be final and an agitation for a wider franchise was carried on. Mr. Trevelyan repeatedly tried for a fresh extension but the Bills introduced by him year after year were defeated in Parliament. All the Liberal Ministers did not favour the reform. In 1883 an Act was passed to prevent the Corrupt and Illegal Practices so that the expenses of the elections were reduced. The personal expenses of a candidate were limited to £100 and a candidate was debarred from seeking election if a corrupt practice was proved against him. The most important result of this measure was the reduction in the expenditure on the elections. The cost of elections in 1885 was £78,000 against £3,000,000 in the elections of 1880.

The movement for the extension of franchise had in the meantime become very strong. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke and John Morley stood forth as the champions of the cause. Gladstone introduced the Franchise Bill on the 28th February, 1884. The Bill was passed by the Commons by the end of June but the Lords pressed for a redistribution of the seats before further

extension of the franchise. Gladstone was not prepared to go to the country on this issue. He felt the necessity of revising the constitution of the House of Lords. He, however, promised to introduce a Redistribution Bill shortly. The differences of the two parties were discussed in a conference of the leaders and the Bill was passed by the Lords on December 9, 1884. By this Act the distinction between the urban and rural householder was removed although the property qualification was still retained in deference to the wishes of the Conservative party.

Next year the Redistribution Bill was agreed to by both the Houses without any opposition. The electorates were reorganised upon the basis of numbers. The boroughs with a population of less than 15,000 were disfranchised and merged in the counties which were in their turn sub-divided into single-member districts. Towns with a population of more than 100,000 were also split up into separate constituencies. The number of members representing Ireland was not reduced although she was entitled to only 93 seats on the basis of her population. Scotland obtained 12 seats more and the total number of members of the House of Commons was increased to 670.

The Parliament Act of 1911.

The attention of Parliament was then drawn towards the Irish question. A movement was, however, set on foot for the abolition of plural voting (1891). The Liberals accepted the principle of the abolition of plural voting, payment of members and the reform of the House of Lords, which has been known as the "Newcastle Programme." A Bill was introduced in 1893 limiting the life of a Parliament to five years, registration of the voters and the limitation of each elector to a single vote. But on account of the Home Rule con-

troversy these proposals were not pushed forward at this stage. In 1886 Mr. Labouchere moved a resolution condemning the hereditary character of the House of Lords. But Gladstone considered such a motion as inopportune and he was not prepared to support an abstract resolution unless it was followed up by action. On a subsequent occasion Lord Rosebery proposed that no peer outside the royal family should be a member of Parliament by right of birth alone. His motion for a Select Committee to enquire into the subject was refused by a large majority. Lord Salisbury brought in his scheme of reforms when he came into power but his proposal to reduce the number of peers did not receive the approval of the country. From 1895 the Unionist party controlled the government till 1905 and there was no possibility of any reforms being effected in this period of ten years. The Unionist Government was willing to a measure of redistribution of the seats with a view to remove the anomalies between the urban and the rural areas but the matter had to be abandoned on account of the resignation of the Balfour Ministry in December 1905. The Liberals obtained a slashing victory in the General Election of 1906 but they had to count with the Unionist majority in the Lords.

A Bill to abolish plural voting was introduced by Harcourt, but it was rejected by the Lords on the ground that it was not accompanied by a scheme of redistribution. The Liberal Government, however, did not give up its programme of reforms under the threat of the Conservative majority in the Upper House. The urgency of reducing the authority of the Lords or modifying its constitution was felt at the attitude of the Lords towards all liberal measures. In May 1907 Lord Newton brought forward a measure for the reconstitu-

tion of the House. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee but the Report of the Committee did not prove acceptable to the Liberals who felt that the recommendations would strengthen the position of the Conservatives.

A crisis did arise when the Lords rejected the Finance Bill in 1909. They pleaded that the Bill contained measures which should not have been ordinarily included in the Finance Bill. In the General Election which followed the rejection of the Bill, the powers of the House of Lords were vehemently attacked. In 1910 Asquith challenged the authority of the Lords in disputing the supreme control of the Commons in money matters. In the month of April the House of Commons carried three resolutions, first to reduce the powers of the Lords in relation to those of the Commons, specially in Money Bills, second to restrict the powers of the Lords in general legislation and lastly to limit the duration of Parliament to five years. The course of legislation was suspended for a time on account of the death of King Edward VII on May 6, 1910. An attempt was made to settle the differences of the parties by a conference, but the leaders could not come to any agreement. There was no alternative than to go to the country for a verdict. When the Parliament Bill was presented to the House of Lords by Lord Crewe Lord Lansdowne on behalf of the Conservative party moved a number of drastic amendments. In the General Election the Government was returned with a majority of 127. Shortly after the assembling of the new Parliament Asquith introduced his Parliament Bill almost in the same form as it was in the last April. The Lords tried to save their position by a Bill to adopt the system of referendum in case of difference between the two Houses. But after the

second reading the Bill was dropped. Lord Lansdowne then brought in a motion for the reconstruction of the House of Lords. The Second Chamber should have 350 members, of whom 100 would be elected by the fellow-peers and would retain their seats for twelve years; 120 members to be called Lords of Parliament would be elected from outside; and 100 peers would be appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Minister. The Princes of the Blood, two Archbishops and the Law Lords were to sit by qualification alone. Lansdowne's Bill did not create any enthusiasm. The Parliament Bill had been passed by the Commons on May 15, 1911 by a majority of 121. The Lords did not oppose it in the second reading in their House. In the next stage a number of amendments were moved, which had the effect of practically altering the character of the Bill. Asquith threatened to create a number of new peers if the Lords persisted in their policy. On account of their stubborn opposition the Conservatives became known as the 'Die-hards.' They, however, realised that the country had no sympathy with them. Following the example of Wellington on a previous occasion Lansdowne advised his followers to save their position by abstaining from the House. Still there was a small number led by Lord Halsbury prepared to resist till the last. Balfour's vote of censure against the Government for advising the Crown to create new peers as unconstitutional was rejected by the Commons by a majority of 119, although a similar motion in the Lords moved by Lord Curzon was carried. The Commons sent back the Bill to the Upper House in August. The Opposition submitted to the inevitable and agreed not to insist upon their amendments.

The Parliament Act as it emerged out of the struggle for a long period provided that the Lords would not

be able to interfere in the Bills certified by the Speaker as Money Bills; other Bills could become law if they were passed by the Commons in three consecutive sessions in course of two years practically unaltered. The duration of Parliament was reduced from seven to five years. The payment of Members of Parliament was sanctioned by a separate legislation. The Parliament Act is a measure of great constitutional importance. Henceforth it has become impossible for the Upper House to oppose the decision of the elected chamber. The Lords can now delay but can not veto the deliberate policy of the Lower House.

The Representation of the People Act, 1918.

The Great War facilitated Parliamentary reform by putting forward the claims of the parties who contributed to the success of the allies. Women and soldiers so long without any political rights were enfranchised. Women were demanding the right to vote long since. When Lord John Russell introduced his Reform Bill in 1865 John Stuart Mill presented a petition asking for the removal of the disabilities of women. He moved an amendment to Disraeli's Bill to substitute the word "persons" for "men" and in the course of the discussion he pressed the claims of women to equal rights with men. But the amendment was defeated by a large majority. The National Society for Women's Suffrage was formed in 1867 and this organisation carried on an extensive propaganda to promote the interests of women. A number of test cases were instituted with a view to ascertain the legality of the exclusion of women from some of the cherished rights. They obtained the right to vote in the municipal elections in 1869, and they could become members of the School Boards created in accordance with the Education Act of 1870. Mr. Jacob Bright

advocated the cause of women and brought in a Bill year after year to enfranchise women. But Parliament was reluctant to admit women to the privilege. There were very few supporters of the women's cause. But the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 placed women on an equality with men. Exasperated by the apathy of Parliament women suffragettes adopted militant tactics. They thought that they could force Parliament to concede their just rights by a policy of violence. Gradually the number of their supporters increased and in 1902 the Suffrage Bill was passed by a majority in the House of Commons. Asquith promised to extend the franchise to women on certain conditions. But the Reform Bill which he introduced did not contain any such clause. The supporters of the women's cause were distributed in all the parties. The services rendered by women during the war were recognised by Lloyd George who in his Representation of the People Act extended the right to vote to all women above the age of thirty.

The Act was thoroughly democratic in nature as all men of the age of twenty-one and above were qualified to vote. It limited plural voting and the election expenses. No person could vote for more than two constituencies. Naval and military voters were registered for the constituencies for which they would have been qualified if they were not on service. The chief qualification for a voter was six months' residence or occupation of premises in a county or borough. The elections were to take place on the same day so that a voter could register his vote in several places where he might have his residential qualifications. The Parliamentary seats were distributed on the basis of seventy thousand inhabitants a member. In the case of boroughs with not less than 50,000 inhabitants the right of sepa-

rate representation was not interfered with. As a result of this redistribution the number of members was increased to 707. The number was reduced to 615 when the Irish Free State was separated from the control of the British Parliament in 1921.

The Act was further amended in 1928 by which women were given the same position as the men. All women of the age of 21 and above are allowed to vote. The residential qualifications have been reduced to three months instead of six months. During the elections in 1931 about 30,000,000 persons cast their votes. The demands of the Chartists have been practically conceded except in the matter of the annual election of Parliament. The constitution is based upon the principle of perfect democracy and the people play a very important part in the political life of the country.

CHAPTER XLI

RISE OF THE DOMINIONS

The New Colonial Policy. The American revolt dealt a heavy blow at the policy of colonial expansion. But the war with France restored the influence and prestige of the Britons overseas. A number of important places were acquired in the old as well as the new world. Britain obtained as her share Malta, the Ionian Islands and Heligoland in Europe, the Cape of Good Hope and the Island of Mauritius in Africa, Ceylon in Asia, St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies, Trinidad and Guiana in South America. On account of her vast colonial empire Britain managed to break the Continental System of Napoleon.

The settlement of Vienna left Britain in possession of her dominions. But on account of the industrial revolution and the teachings of Adam Smith the attitude towards the colonies had changed. The old ideas of the Mercantile System by which England wanted to increase her exports and to bring in more money home were found to be unsound. But down to 1819 the old policy continued; England controlled the trade of the colonies in return for affording them protection and defence. They could not trade with the foreign countries excepting through England. When Huskisson and Canning, the two eminent statesmen believing in the principle of free-trade joined the Ministry the Navigation Acts were modified. The colonies were allowed to trade directly with the foreign countries. There were, however, still some restrictions; the trade between the colonies and England had to be carried under the British flag, and the foreign vessels could carry only the goods of their own countries to the colonies. All these restrictions were

finally removed in 1849 when the Navigation Acts were repealed. The recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies in Central and South America greatly helped the development of the British trade. Canning tried to redress the balance of the Old World by calling the New World into existence.

The industrial dislocation in England after the Napoleonic wars sent a large number of Britons to these colonies. The white emigrants carried with them the ideas of government in England and in their new settlements they enjoyed a large amount of freedom. But the colonial policy was regulated by the Secretary of State for War who was in charge of the Colonial office till 1854. The high offices were filled by it and it was a common complaint that the Colonial business was often decided in the interests of political parties. The actual work of administration was carried on by a little group of bureaucrats in the Downing Street. Crown lands were disposed of at nominal sums and Governors were appointed to please the interested parties. But the colonists did not relish such interference. England, on the other hand, had learnt the lesson of compromise after the tragic events of the American Revolution and the statesmen were not slow to extend the principle of self-government to the colonies whenever they expressed their desire for it in unambiguous terms.

The expansion of the colonies was greatly helped by the circumstances at home. Gibbon Wakefield in his *Art of Colonisation* developed a scheme of emigration. He proposed that the Crown lands should be sold at a fixed price and with the proceeds emigrants should be assisted. He went to Canada, started a company to settle South Australia and another to establish a colony in New Zealand. Side by side with the emigration of the white men to the colonies the humanitarians moved for the abolition of the slave trade.

This iniquitous system was abolished by an Act of Parliament in 1807 and slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1834. England paid £2,000,000 to the slave-owners as compensation. This was a glorious act of benevolence. Under the pressure of pious men the British Government has also pledged to protect the interests of the native races in the colonies. A new policy of self-government and protection of native races gradually evolved during the nineteenth century.

Canada and the Durham Report. It was in Canada that the colonial policy developed on the new lines. Originally Canada was a French colony. It was taken over by the English after the Seven Years' War in 1763. Later on, with the rise of the United States of America as an independent country the loyalists living in the plantations went over to Canada from the adjacent territories. Thus Canada contained all sorts of people—French and British, Catholic and Protestant. The system of government as laid down in the Quebec Act (1774) of Lord North had guaranteed the Catholic religion and the old laws to the Canadians. This satisfied the French settlers and therefore they did not join the revolutionists in the War of Independence. The emigrants from the United States settled mainly in Upper Canada. A solution of the racial question was attempted in the Canadian Government Act of 1791, by which Pitt established two separate provinces: the French lived in the lower province and the British in the upper province. Each province was given a representative assembly and separate governors and councils. It was expected that this arrangement would remove all causes of friction between the two races. For some time things worked satisfactorily. A large number of the British gradually came into the French province and acquired privileged positions. The Governor appointed

his ministers and chose members of the Council from among the British. The French were, however, strong in the Representative Assembly and organised a vigorous party under the leadership of Louis J. Papineau. The constitution of 1791 had one great defect: the executive was not responsible to the legislature. The powers of the Assembly with regard to finance were limited. The Assembly had no voice in the selection of the public functionaries and could not remove any body who proved himself obnoxious to it. In the event of a conflict the Assembly could disable the machinery by refusal of the supplies.

The racial feelings in Lower Canada were very acute. The attempt of the Assembly to control the finances of the Government brought about a serious situation. The Governor did not approve of the election of Papineau as Speaker of the Assembly which then passed a series of resolutions urging an elective council (1834). But this suggestion was not accepted and the Assembly by way of reply to it refused to renew an agreement with upper Canada regarding the duties collected on the St. Lawrence. The difficulty was solved by the intervention of the British Parliament. The unrest produced in the controversy led to a rebellion in 1837. A similar rising took place in Upper Canada under the leadership of a Scotsman named William Lyon Mackenzie. The rebellions were easily suppressed but the British Government suspended the Canadian constitution and sent out Lord Durham as Governor-General with powers to enquire into the situation. Durham on his arrival in Canada dealt strongly but some of his actions were bitterly criticised at home. He therefore resigned but submitted a very important report on the situation.

The Durham Report formed the basis of the future constitution of Canada. It is a valuable state paper and has been described as the Magna Carta of colonial self-government. The theory of responsible government for the colonies was enunciated in a clear language. The reform in the constitutional system was the only means of removing all abuses. On the basis of the report the Canada Act of 1840 was framed. The two provinces were amalgamated and responsible government was introduced by stages. Canada was given a Parliament of two houses, a Legislative Council of not less than twenty members nominated by the Crown and a House of Representatives consisting of eighty-four members elected by the people. The responsible executive was not conceded till 1849.

Canada as a Self-Governing Dominion. The Canada Act united the provinces under one government; each province was given equal representation on the Assembly and English language was used for the official purpose. But the Governor could act independently although he maintained friendly relations with the leaders. It was a half measure and did not solve the problem. In 1849 Lord Elgin as Governor acknowledged the necessity of fully submitting to the decision of the Canadian Parliament when a great riot took glace over the Rebellion Losses Act. This was the beginning of the responsible government in the colony. Full effect was henceforth given to the recommendation of Durham.

The next stage in the evolution of the colonial policy was to adopt the federal principle in adjusting the relations between the different parts. The French Canadians became a strongly organised party and were anxious to develop their language, religion and customs. Friction between the two races could not be avoided and at times a deadlock in the administration was threatened. In the

circumstances, it was thought desirable to have a federal constitution in which the different parts would develop in their own way without reducing the solidarity of the country as a whole. The federal movement was brought to a head on account of the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty by the United States of America. Since the adoption of free trade by England the markets of the United States were closed to the Canadian goods as the States raised high tariff walls. It was freely talked that the solution of this difficulty was the annexation of Canada by the States. In the American Civil War the relations between the two countries became strained and the Reciprocity Treaty which had been arranged through the efforts of Lord Elgin in 1854 was repealed by the States in 1866. The action of the United States led the Canadians to think seriously of strengthening their position rather than joining in a union with the United States. A coalition government was formed to work out a scheme of federation. The maritime colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were invited to join Canada and the scheme was discussed at a Conference at Quebec in 1864. Ultimately a plan of federation was agreed upon and sent to London for ratification by Parliament.

The result was the British North America Act which brought into existence the Dominion of Canada in 1867. Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia formed the original provinces of the Dominion. Each province was given a Parliament to deal with local questions. The powers of the provinces were specified and the residual authority was vested in the Federal Government with Ottawa, then a mere village, as the capital. The new constitution provided for a Governor-General to represent the Crown and the legislature consisted of two Houses, the Senate or Upper House having members nominated by the

Governor-General for life, and the House of Commons consisting of elected members. All executive authority was vested in the Crown of Great Britain who would be represented by a Governor-General, and the Sovereign of Great Britain could veto any measure agreed to by the Governor-General within two years of its final presentation to the representative of the Crown for assent. The Governor-General was the Commander-in-Chief and had the right to appoint the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces. A Privy Council of Canada was set up to advise the Governor-General. For actual administration of the country a Parliamentary Cabinet could be formed on the British model with a Premier as President.

Each Province has a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General, with an Executive Council to assist him. There was no uniformity regarding the legislature in the provinces. In the beginning, in all the provinces except Ontario there were two Houses, but later on only Quebec and Nova Scotia have retained two Houses.

The Dominion of Canada is the first federation under a constitutional monarch, and in the constitution the weakness of the United States has been avoided by placing residual authority in the Federal Government. The extent of the colony has increased by further acquisitions in the north and west. The rights of the Hudson's Bay Company were bought in 1870 and thus Rupert's Land and North-West Territory were admitted into the Federation. Manitoba was carved out of the North-Western Territory the same year. The next year British Columbia with Vancouver entered the Union and in 1873 came Prince Edward Island. Of the maritime colonies in the neighbourhood New Foundland still remains outside the Union as it has interests differing from the mainland. Between the Atlantic and the Pacific the vast area extend-

ing over 3,000 miles is included within the Dominion of Canada and is served by a long railway system. Since the creation of the Dominion into a federal state the country has prospered in every direction. Its importance has grown so great that an Imperial Economic Conference met at Ottawa in 1932. Two more provinces joined the Union, *viz.* Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The population has increased in this period from a little over three millions to more than ten millions. In area it has increased ten times since the creation of the Confederation.

The New Ideal. Canada celebrated the Golden Jubilee of its nationhood in 1927 amidst great rejoicing. At one time it was feared that the colonies would fall off from the mother country in course of time. But they rallied round England in the South African War and during the Great War in 1914-1918 they made amazing sacrifices for the maintenance of the solidarity of the Empire. As a reward for their services in the crisis representatives of the self-governing dominions were invited to join the War Cabinet and they became original members of the League of Nations. A new ideal of the relations between Great Britain and the colonies was evolved during the War. "We are not a state, but a community of states and nations. We are far greater than any empire which has ever existed, and by using this ancient expression we really disguise the main fact that our whole position is different, and that we are not one state or nation or empire, but a whole world by ourselves, consisting of many nations, of many states, and all sorts of communities under one flag," said General Smuts, the South African Minister in the War Cabinet. He called this community of nations "the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Since 1867 the dominions have been self-governing and self-supporting and it was felt that they should also be self-

defending and would not depend upon England for defending themselves against foreign aggression. A conference of the self-governing dominions, originally called the Colonial Conference, was called at the time of the Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria in 1887, and since then it has been called at regular intervals. In 1907 the title was changed to that of Imperial Conference. This Conference has shaped the relations between the different members of the Commonwealth. In the Imperial Conference of 1926 an important declaration was made, which ultimately was embodied in the Statute of Westminster. The Conference declared: "Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatsoever.......Equality of status so far as Great Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root principle governing our inter-imperial relations."

Canada was the first to obtain the dominion status and it was Canada which was jealous about the position of equality. The declaration of the Dominion autonomy was made at the instance of Canada. In pursuance of this policy of complete autonomy Canada negotiated treaties with the United States of America without the intervention of the British Ambassador and has appointed its accredited representatives in foreign courts. It has also taken up independent attitude in the foreign policy of England and has demanded the right to be consulted in all such affairs.

Australia and New Zealand. The secession of the United States of America from the British Empire closed the principal outlet for convict labour. Convicts used to be sent to the West Indies and America since the movement for colonisation started. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the islands in Australasia had been discovered. But it was in the last quarter of the eighteenth

century that Captain James Cook charted the coast of New Zealand and that of Eastern Australia. He gave the name of New South Wales to the east coast of Africa, and in 1788 the first batch of convicts reached the place. New South Wales was thus developed as a convict settlement, and gradually it extended along the coast and westwards into the interior. On the expiry of their terms of sentence the convicts remained in the island as free colonists and the number of settlers increased by the arrival of batches of free emigrants. Tasmania was occupied in 1804 and shortly afterwards it became a separate colony. Other parts of the island were explored and gradually Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane came into existence. When the Wakefield system of colonisation was adopted the number of colonists increased briskly. Victoria was organised in 1835 as a separate colony with Melbourne as its capital. The new free colonies grew very prosperous, and on the recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee under the chairmanship of Sir William Molesworth the system of transportation of convicts was abolished in New South Wales in 1840. A better type of immigrants then began to pour into Australia.

New Zealand was inhabited by an intelligent race called the Maoris. But they were about 100,000 and their country was fertile and beautiful. Since the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook the Christian missionaries came there for preaching the gospel and along with them came traders, escaped convicts and runaway sailors. The missionaries entered into friendly relations with the Maoris and they thought that the aborigines should be left to themselves. In 1839 at the instance of Wakefield the New Zealand Company was established with a view to colonise the islands which had been annexed by the Governor of New South Wales that year. A batch of about 1,300 immigrants arrived in the islands but they proved them-

selves disagreeable to the Maoris as well as the missionaries. To settle the trouble Captain Hobson came from England as Lieutenant-Governor. He entered into a treaty with the Maori chiefs, by which the Maoris were guaranteed undisturbed possession of their lands but they had to recognise the right of the British to rule over them. With the rights thus obtained New Zealand started its career as an independent colony from 1841.

For about twelve years there were two authorities in the islands: the Governor representing the Crown and the Wakefield Company with great influence in England. The Company did not abide by the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi and bought land direct from the Maoris. This led to serious troubles as it was contended on behalf of the Maoris that the land belonged to the tribe and the individuals even if they were chiefs had no right to sell. So long as Hobson was Governor he tried to arrange the sales through the Government with a view to avoid clash, but his successor was a weak man and could not stop extensive purchases by the Company. Then George Grey came from South Australia as Governor of New Zealand in 1845. He tried to stop fraudulent transfer of land from the Maoris and at the same time to satisfy the Company by arranging purchases in the South Island where the number of Maoris was not large. Grey became popular with the Maoris for his strong administration. He held in abeyance the constitution of 1840, which he considered as unsuited to the condition of the times. This satisfied the natives. In 1851 the New Zealand Company was dissolved and it became possible to introduce a new constitution on the recommendation of the Governor. The islands were divided into six provinces with a council for local affairs in each, and there was appointed a Governor at the head of the Central Government with a Federal Council and Assembly. This,

however, did not improve the relation between the natives and the white settlers. The situation became worse on account of the transfer of Grey to Cape Colony. A Maori war broke out in 1860, and it continued till 1870. Grey was sent in 1863 to restore peace which he succeeded in bringing about in 1866. A policy of conciliation was followed after the war, and in 1870 the provincial governments were abolished and a unitary system of government was introduced. From 1856 the government has been carried on by responsible ministers and the capital was later on shifted to Wellington. On the expiry of his term as Governor Grey did not cut off his connection with the islands. He came and settled there and played an important part as a Radical Prime Minister. Since the inauguration of the new constitution the relations between the Maoris and the settlers have considerably improved. They now live side by side in harmony; the Maoris have been recognised as full citizens and they have special representation on the Dominion Parliament.

The Europeans and the Maoris constitute the nation in New Zealand and others are not allowed to settle. The Dominion of New Zealand forms a progressive member of the British Empire. Political and social life of the Dominion is not inferior to the other advanced parts of the world. Universal adult suffrage was introduced there very early and the payment of members of Parliament was allowed. The conditions of labour are regulated by wise laws and agriculture is developed with generous state aid. The problem of race has been satisfactorily solved and the Maoris have accepted the British connection as a matter of course. The Dominion has been described as the "Britain of the South Seas" and enjoys an equable climate. It is a place of great attraction to the tourists on account of its beautiful scenery.

Commonwealth of Australia. With the cessation of the importation of convicts the settlements in Australia attracted men of a better type, and self-government on the lines of Canada was introduced in those places. New South Wales was granted an elective council in 1842 and complete responsible government in 1854. The other provinces, such as South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria also established representative governments about the same time. The representative system was extended to Queensland in 1859.

The discovery of gold mines brought in a rush of immigrants since 1850. The movement has been known as the gold-rush. Within five years the population was doubled. Victoria was the chief field of mining and in twenty years it multiplied its population tenfold. Along with the discovery of the gold-mines the country was opened up by railways and government increased its expenditure beyond its resources. It was also faced by the turbulence of the gold-diggers and the bush-rangers. A collision took place between the miners and the troops but the colony managed to remove the trouble by mutual adjustment.

In 1860 there were six separate colonies in Australia, *viz.*, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Transvaal. In all these colonies except in Western Australia there was responsible government. The necessity of a united government for all these colonies was strongly felt as there existed keen rivalry between them. The attempt on the part of the British Parliament to organise a Federal Council failed in 1885 on account of the attitude of New South Wales, which alone of the colonies in Australia maintained the policy of free trade. A convention of the representatives of all the colonies was held in 1891 but the plan of federation adopted then was not

accepted by New South Wales. Another convention was called in 1897 and the constitution drafted was submitted to the referendum. At the instance of New South Wales a second referendum adopted the constitution in an amended form. The new constitution was ratified by the British Parliament and was put into operation on January 1, 1901.

By this new constitution the Commonwealth of Australia is ruled by a Governor-General with the help of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Both the chambers are elected and the administration is carried on by a Federal Ministry. The states have surrendered certain functions to the Federal Government but they have retained for themselves the residuary power of legislation. This is a modification of the system introduced in Canada where the Federal Government has the residuary authority.

The wave of prosperity in Australia gradually passed off, immigration stopped and the labour became cheaper. The economic depression led to labour troubles in 1890 and a big general strike was organised that year followed by similar strikes in 1892 and 1894. As a result of these strikes trade-unions and a Labour Party were formed. The Labour Party captured the seats in the legislature and it was in Australia that Labour was entrusted with the authority of government. In 1904 the Commonwealth Parliament passed a measure for the constitution of an Arbitration Court to settle labour disputes. The court has the power to fix wages but in every case it has not been found effective to remove the differences. Another alternative has been found to deal with such cases by forming wages boards of masters and men. Australia also has definitely adopted the policy of protection but grants some preference to Great Britain. It is a White Colony and a predominantly British Colony. It does not allow indentured

labour and Asiatics, including Indians, are excluded from it. The Australians consider themselves a distinct nation and on account of their policy of exclusion the vast continent is still lying undeveloped. Half the population of Australia may be found in the four towns. Australia has developed a policy of self-defence by adopting a scheme of compulsory training for a national militia on the lines suggested by Lord Kitchener; it also agreed to build up an Australian fleet to defend the country, and which may be placed at the disposal of the British Admiralty in the time ot war.

South Africa. Since the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope it has been used as a port of call for vessels going to the East Indies. It was occupied by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 and the Dutch farmers then gradually penetrated into the country round about it. They drove the yellow-skinned Bushmen and Hottentots and spread themselves out in all directions. But their settlements were ravaged by the warlike Bantus from the north. There were constant fights between the Zulus and the Dutch farmers, called the Boers. During the wars with the French the British captured Cape Town in 1795 and in the settlement after Waterloo it was made over to them finally. On the arrival of the British immigrants the Boers moved upwards as they could not mix freely with the newcomers and their rights were restricted. An organised effort was made to encourage emigration and South Africa got a fair share of these emigrants who settled round Grahamstown; another stream of emigrants chose the coast near Natal. The Boers got alarmed at the increase in the British element. Their resentment became very bitter when the Dutch language was supplanted by English as the official language and English magistrates and law-courts interfered in the old system of administration. The abolition of slavery by the British Parliament was considered as a great encroachment upon their

rights. It was not an easy thing to obtain labour in South Africa and the settlers had incurred great expenditure in engaging slave labour. The compensation granted by England was not adequate. In 1834 the Boers and the English settlers were confronted with a great danger—the attack of the Kaffirs upon their farms. But they succeeded in driving them away and the British Governor, Sir Benjamin Durban, tried to protect the white population by extending the frontier and to guard them by a friendly tribe on all sides. The policy of extension was not approved of by the Government in England. The Boers were upset at the attitude of the English Government towards the policy of Durban. They felt that their interests would not be safe in the hands of the British and planned a great Trek to new regions in the north (1836).

Three main streams of migration followed three directions: one party crossed the Orange River and occupied the part later known as the Orange Free State. The second stream crossed the Vaal and established the Transvaal. A third stream went into Natal and defeated the Zulus. They declared there the establishment of the Republic of Natal which proved an eyesore to the British. An expedition was sent against the Boers and ultimately the Boers were expelled and the British annexed Natal (1843). After a few years it became a separate colony. Upto 1825 the Governor had the full authority of administration in Cape Colony. That year he was given a nominated council. But with the grant of self-government to Canada the system in other colonies was changed. A representative assembly was established in the Cape in 1853.

The chief problem of the Government of Cape Colony was to keep up connection with Natal as, between these two settlements, there lay a vast area inhabited by semi-hostile tribes. The British on the other hand felt greatly embarras-

sed at the attitude of the Boers across the Orange River. Constitutionally the Boers were British subjects but they were not very willing to remain under the British control nor were the British prepared to undertake the responsibility of looking after the Boer affairs far in the north. The natives were a source of great danger. In these circumstances, the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent out Sir Harry Smith as Governor (1847). He was a veteran soldier and had acquired some experience in India. He adopted the policy of Sir Benjamin Durban and appointed British agents among the native tribes with a view to establish good relations with them. He made Kaffraria, the country between Cape Colony and Natal, a British Protectorate. The boundary of Cape Colony was extended to the Orange River. Free State was annexed, and the territory as far as the Vaal River was subjugated. The Boers resisted this forward movement but they were defeated at Boomplats (1848). Those who did not submit to the British supremacy went over to the other side of the Vaal and organised there the state of Transvaal. The Government in England did not fully appreciate the policy of expansion of Harry Smith and were feeling ill at ease at the increase of their responsibility. In 1851 Harry Smith got himself involved in a war with the Basutos in trying to obtain compensation from them for stolen cattle. Smith was forced to acknowledge the independence of the Transvaal in 1852 and then he was recalled. After two years the independence of the Orange Free State was recognised. There were thus two Dutch republics in the north. The relations of the British with these states were not defined and gave rise to serious complications afterwards. The British and the Boers did not come to any agreed plan regarding their relations with the natives and the British practically withdrew their own zone out of fear.

After the conventions of 1852 and 1854 there was peace for about sixteen years. The white population in Cape

Colony multiplied threefold in the quarter of a century. Sir George Grey who acted as Governor from 1854 to 1861 had won his reputation as an able administrator in New Zealand. He succeeded in pacifying the Kaffirs and in teaching them the rule of law. He maintained good relations with the two Dutch Republics of Orange Free State and the Transvaal and drew up a scheme of federation which unfortunately was not received favourably in England.

The discovery of diamonds in 1868 brought an influx of immigrants and the diamond area round about Kimberley, to the west of the Free State and north of the Orange River was claimed by Orange Free State, the Transvaal and England. The natives called the Griquas disputed the rights of all these. England annexed Griqualand with the consent of the natives and paying £90,000 as compensation to the Free State, but no settlement was made with the Transvaal. Cape Colony was given responsible government in 1872 by the Liberal Government under Gladstone and the natives with educational qualifications were enfranchised. This was a policy not attempted in any other colony in South Africa. Lord Carnarvon as Colonial Secretary had introduced the scheme of federation in Canada and was desirous of extending the idea to South Africa. But the time was not opportune. The Transvaal was in a state of chaos. Sir Bartle Frere came as High Commissioner with definite instructions to carry out federation. The Transvaal was annexed with the consent of a section of the Boers in 1877 and the benefits of federation were held out to them. But Frere was confronted by the risings of the Kaffirs and the Zulus. The Boers on the other hand, led by Paul Kruger, would not consider the proposal of federation unless they were granted full autonomy. In the meantime, Gladstone came to power, and by the Pretoria Convention of 1881 restored the inde-

pendence of the Transvaal. The Boers were under the British control only in their foreign relations. This arrangement was modified by the Convention of London in 1884, by which the Transvaal was conceded the right to negotiate terms of treaty with the Orange Free State but for making treaties with any other Power they had to take the consent of the British Government.

The next stage of the development of South Africa was determined to a very great extent by Cecil Rhodes. He came out to South Africa when a boy in the interest of health. By amalgamating the diamond mines at Kimberley he made a vast fortune before he was nineteen. Then he went to Oxford for education. Soon he returned to South Africa and dreamt of uniting the two races and of developing the vast resources of the continent. He wanted to bring in the Boers in a system of federation and to connect South and North Africa by a Cape-Cairo Railway. At the age of twenty-eight in 1881, he entered the Cape Parliament. In a conflict with the Boers that year the Britons were defeated at Majuba. Encouraged by their success the Boers advanced into Zululand and Bechuanaland and began to establish republics in these new territories in the north. The Germans had by that time annexed South-West Africa and Rhodes found that the German annexation and the Boer expansion would stand in the way of his schemes of expansion. He therefore persuaded the Government of England to send an expedition to Bechuanaland. The London Convention of 1884 made the Transvaal acknowledge Bechuanaland as a British Protectorate and the southern part of it was annexed to Cape Colony.

This threw open the gateway to the north. Rhodes obtained from the Matabele chief the right to extract minerals from his territory. He then organised a trading

company known as the British South Africa Company to open up and colonise these northern territories (1889) The Company was heavily financed by Rhodes from the diamond industry. He became a director of the Company and at the same time acted as the Prime Minister of Cape Colony. The new country was developed on his plans and immigrants began to pour in in large numbers. The Matabeles, however, were not quite happy at the rise of the white colony in their country and rose into a rebellion in 1893. But the rising was easily crushed and the country of the Matabeles annexed. It is a lofty plateau full of mineral resources. It became a valuable addition to the Empire and is now known as Rhodesia.

In the meantime, the Transvaal attracted large immigrants on account of the discovery of the rich gold-fields there. Majority of the immigrants were British and they came into possession of vast wealth. The city of Johannesburg was practically built up by them. But they were considered by the Boers as Uitlanders and were refused civic rights. The immigrants felt the disabilities very bitterly and when their peaceful representation proved ineffective they appealed to Rhodes and formed a conspiracy to overthrow the Boer Republic. It was arranged that Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia, would lead a raid into the Transvaal but in this attempt he was disastrously defeated and his whole force was captured. The failure of the Jameson raid brought about the ruin of Rhodes's political career (January, 1890).. The position of the Uitlanders became worse and the policy of conciliation failed, and the Dutch opinion became very uncompromising. It was generally believed that Britain was merely using the Uitlanders as a stalking horse and that she had a deeper plan. The Boers expected some help from Germany in a war with the Britons as the Kaiser sent a message of

congratulation to President Kruger on the failure of the Jameson raid.

The Boers were not prepared to yield to the British demands and give the Uitlanders their political rights. The attempt of Sir Alfred Milner who came out to South Africa as High Commissioner to bring about a settlement failed. Milner urged that the Uitlanders should be given the right to vote after five years' residence but Kruger who was bent upon driving the British from the Transvaal would not agree to less than seven years' residence. Meanwhile, war preparations were made on both sides. On the arrival of large British troops in South Africa Kruger sent an ultimatum in October, 1899, demanding the withdrawal of the British troops from the frontier. On the expiry of two years' notice the Boers invaded Natal and laid siege to Mafeking and Kimberley. Soon after, the Orange Free State joined the Transvaal and the two Republics put into the field seventy thousand skilled troops. They won a number of brilliant victories at the first stage. General Sir George White was besieged in Ladysmith. Then Sir Redvers Buller arrived with 80,000 troops. The British, however, received serious reverses in several places. The British prestige was in its lowest when Roberts and Kitchener arrived in South Africa with large contingents of troops, and the British forces were more numerous than the total population of the two Dutch Republics. Roberts started his campaign with a strong determination. Kimberley was relieved by General French and the Boers under Cronje surrendered at Paardeberg in February, 1900. Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, was occupied in March, and then the Boers raised the siege of Ladysmith. Then Mafeking was relieved and Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, was occupied. On the defeat of General Botha at Diamond Hill the Boers lost all

chances of recovery. The Transvaal was then annexed by a proclamation on September 1: but the Boers continued their guerilla warfare for some time more. Kitchener was left in South Africa to complete the war. Finally, in May, 1902, the Boer leaders, were persuaded to conclude peace at Vereeniging. The two republics were absorbed in the British Empire on condition that they would be able to maintain their self-governing institutions; and England agreed to provide £3,000,000 for the economic reconstruction of the country.

The work of settlement after the war was carried out by Milner with great tact and judgment but still the Boers were not happy. They were promised representative government but not a responsible executive. There was, however, a change in the British Ministry. The Liberals under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had come into power, and they at once tried to assuage the Boer sentiment by offering Responsible Government in 1906. The Boers then became masters in their own house. They were reconciled to the British supremacy when they had a majority in their Parliament.

Within three years the scheme of a federation was seriously taken up. A Conference of the delegates of the four states met at Durban in 1908 and the scheme of federation drawn up there was ratified by the British Parliament in 1909. The new constitution created the Union of South Africa in which the separate states were unified. The old states became provinces with limited powers and the racial sentiments were respected by making both Dutch and English official languages. Cape Town was made the seat of Parliament and Pretoria the seat of Executive Government. Louis Botha, who led the Boer troops against the British, became the first Prime Minister of the Union.

Unity of the Empire. The British enterprise has built up a vast empire scattered over all parts of the globe. There are colonies with a white population and in those places the political rights are mainly enjoyed by them. In some of these places the original inhabitants when sufficiently educated have been granted some rights but the white population still exercise the dominating influence. In these dominions full responsible government has been established. There are a large number of places where the British carry on the administration and yet full responsible government has not been introduced. The interests of the natives require protection and the control of the British Parliament is felt desirable. Politically these Crown Colonies are not of very great importance but they help in the economic development of the United Kingdom. India with a population of about three-fourths of the total population of the British Empire stands as a class by itself. The main problem of the British statesmanship is how to keep this vast empire united. After the separation of the United States of America people felt that all the distant colonies would fall off like ripe fruits. But there has been a change in the policy of the British Government towards these countries. They have realised how valuable they are to the British people. They not only provide fields for expansion of the British race, they are absolutely necessary for the very existence of the British people. Whenever the colonists have definitely expressed their desire for self-government the mother-country has not stood in their way. The inventions of the nineteenth century have drawn the distant parts closer together. Steam-engine, electricity, telegraphs, telephones and radio have accelerated the speed of communication. The aeroplanes have linked the distant parts through the air. The opening up of the Suez Canal and the Panama Canal

has made it easy for the movement of trade and men. Most of the difficulties of the eighteenth century have disappeared.

The unity of the Empire may be marked by the several stages. In 1887 was held the first Conference of the representatives of the colonies. This Conference has gradually developed into the Imperial Conference. In this Conference affairs connected with the relations between the different parts of the Empire are discussed. The problem of Imperial defence became easy of solution when the dominions voluntarily came to the aid of England during the Boer War (1899-1902). In a special session of the Imperial Conference in 1909 it was resolved that the dominions should set up local levies as branches of the Royal Navy. In pursuance of this policy Australia has built up a local navy. Other parts of the Empire still contributes to the British Exchequer for defence on the seas. The development of the Imperial trade has been discussed in many Conferences and it is the plan of the last Imperial Economic Conference which met at Ottawa that the trade within the Empire should be developed by a system of preference.

The self-governing members of the Empire are included in the League of Nations and they are consulted in the foreign relations of the British Government. They are now independent states in voluntary association with Great Britain and can secede if they so desire.

CHAPTER XLII

THE IRISH QUESTION

Irish Nationalism. Ireland has been one of the "sore spots" of the British Empire down to the present day. Coercion has been the main principle of government in dealing with the Irish who were never reconciled to the British rule. In spite of the Catholic Emancipation and the representation of Ireland on the British Parliament she had still many grievances. The population of Ireland were mainly Catholic but they had to pay for the maintenance of the Church of England which was the Established Church in the United Kingdom. The Irish peasantry were oppressed by the British landlords who were mostly absent from the country. In language, religion and manners and customs the Irish were distinct from the Britons. They all along cherished a sincere love for their own culture and traditions and did not like to be merged in the dominant nationality of the English. Under the British rule they found nothing but their ruin; the English language and English culture were superimposed upon theirs; economically they were exploited by the British and they had to pay heavily for the maintenance of an alien Church. Their bitterness was increased by the way in which they were treated after the Reform Act of 1832. They were still treated as aliens in the United Kingdom although they received the right to vote. The Irish leaders were never included in the Ministry; the schemes of reforms advocated by the Irish were not attended to; the Irish questions were discussed in an indifferent manner and the Irish were taxed to suit the convenience of Britain.

Within ten years the burden of taxation was increased by 40 per cent., and three millions a year went to the English Exchequer. In ninety-three years no less than three thousand and twenty-five millions passed over the Channel without return as the "Empire's ransom," says Green. A severe famine took place in 1845, in which about a million people died of starvation. The absentee landlords did not still reduce their demands for rent and no less than 50,000 families were evicted for failure to pay. Ground under the oppression and tyranny of the landlords the Irish left their country and went over to America. The population was reduced almost to a half. It has been said: "The reign of Queen Victoria, to England a time of vaunted prosperity and progress, was to Ireland an age of unmitigated disaster only to be compared to the reign of Queen Elizabeth." When all efforts to improve the condition of the Irish people failed a movement for self-help was set on foot. There were two parties, one still adhering to the constitutional method and the other prepared to go to the extreme. The Sinn Fein movement has obtained for Ireland the dominion status but not the United Ireland. The national movement is still pursuing the ideal of Ireland for the Irish.

The Tithe Question. After the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 the Irish concentrated all their energy to get the Tithe abolished. It was a mark of the supremacy of the Church of England over the Catholic Ireland. The institution was imposed upon the Irish people after the Synod of Cashel in 1195. It was not only a permanent drain upon the resources of the people but it demoralised the Irish who did not subscribe to the doctrines of the Established Church. Of the total population of about 8,000,000 in 1834, only 852,064 belonged to the Established

Church whereas no less than 6,500,000 were Roman Catholics. The revenue of the Established Church has been estimated to have been more than £800,000. The Church of England was endowed, but the Catholic Church which ministered to the vast majority of the population was in a miserable condition.

The Catholic Emancipation led to a movement for the abolition of the hated Tithe. In 1831 payment of tithes was almost everywhere refused. The British Parliament appointed a committee of both the Houses to make investigation. On the recommendation of the committee Parliament authorised the Government to advance £60,000 to be paid to the Irish clergy, and then to collect the sum from the Irish tax-payers. Later on another measure was passed making tithe-composition compulsory and permanent. The Irish leader, O'Connell, opposed both the measures. The system was vicious and by making the compensation permanent the abuses would have been perpetuated. Serious discontent spread throughout the island and a movement for boycotting started. O'Connell, on the other hand, took a pledge to repeal the Union.

The Liberal Ministry decided upon a policy of reform-cum-coercion. As a measure of reform Lord Althorp introduced a bill dealing with the Temporalities of the Church in Ireland. Some of the positions would be abolished and their revenues would be redistributed. Side by side a coercion bill of the severest character was introduced by Lord Grey. *Habeas Corpus* was suspended and martial law introduced. The Ministry was divided about the policy to be adopted but the Bill was passed in April. Lord Wellesley was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The situation in Ireland slightly improved, crime and outrage diminished but the agitation

against the tithes continued in the same way. O'Connell moved for the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the affairs of Ireland but the motion was heavily defeated. On the Church question the Government, however, was compelled to accept a Commission. This led to a reshuffling of the Cabinet as many Ministers resigned. The differences in the Ministry brought the Government of the Liberals to an end when Grey resigned (July 9, 1834). On the rock of the Irish problem the Reform party was wrecked. Melbourne carried on the government till November and then the Conservatives under Sir Robert Peel came to power. The Peel Ministry also collapsed on the Irish question in April, 1835.

Lord Melbourne was at the head of the Whig Ministry for five years from 1835 to 1840 and in this period he entered into an understanding with O'Connell known as the " Lichfield House Compact " by which the Whigs were asked to support the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to national purposes, an extension of the suffrage and a drastic reform of the Irish corporations. O'Connell was disappointed for not being included in the Ministry but he was consulted on the appointment of Irish officials. Most of the men thus appointed were sympathetic towards the Irish. The most important official at the time was Thomas Drummond, the Under-Secretary, who in an embarrassing situation tried to win confidence in the administration of justice and inspire respect for law. He disliked employment of " extraordinary " powers. But the Irish people lost a friend by his death in 1840. The Whig Ministers could not carry their principle of appropriation on account of the opposition of the Lords. In 1838 a Bill was passed commuting the tithe into a permanent rent charge at the rate of 75 per cent. of the nominal value. This was a triumph of the opponents of the Irish people. The same

year an Irish Poor Law was enacted on the lines of the English Poor Law. When O'Connell found that the Whigs were helpless against the opposition of the Tories and the interested nobility he started an agitation for the total repeal of the Act of Union.

Young Ireland. O'Connell adhered to the constitutional method of agitation and was always anxious to avoid violence. But this method proved ineffective in improving the lot of the Irish people. The revolutionary movement on the continent of Europe stirred the Irish youth and they organised a party known as "Young Ireland." To retain his hold upon the people O'Connell started an agitation for the repeal of the Union and organised meetings all over the country to draw the attention of the Government to the feelings of the people. He established a Repeal Association to be financed by a repeal rent collected from the Irish peasantry. In 1843 he was sentenced to imprisonment on a charge of sedition but the sentence was reversed by the House of Lords on appeal. Thereafter O'Connell's influence declined. He died broken-hearted at Genoa in 1847 at the age of 72.

Sir Robert Peel was anxious to pacify the Irish but was not in sympathy with the movement for repeal. He appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of the Earl of Devon to enquire into the unrest of Ireland (1843). The report of the Commission was published in 1845. Shortly after the publication of the Report a Bill was drafted to grant compensation to the Irish peasants for unexhausted improvements ; the Bill was withdrawn when it was vehemently attacked from several quarters. Peel, however, increased the grant to the Maynooth College, an institution for the training of the Catholic priests (1845) and to encourage the higher education of the Irish he established three non-denominational colleges at Cork, Galway and

Belfast, which were styled "Queen's Colleges." But these reforms could not create any enthusiasm of the Irish.

Ireland was visited by the greatest calamity in 1845 when on the failure of the potato crops about a million persons perished. Many more left the island and within a few years the population was reduced by about two millions. Peel got the Corn Laws repealed but shortly afterwards he had to resign. The Irish situation remained as serious in the time of his successor Lord John Russell. The Irish peasantry were in a state of extreme distress and the country was devastated by crime. The system of relief introduced by Peel increased the burden of the Government but did not improve the condition of the people. To suppress crime an Arms Bill was introduced but it had to be dropped. The famine condition ceased after the winter of 1847—48. It proved disastrous to the landlords as well as to the people. About one-third of the landlords were ruined. To help them an Encumbered Estates Court was established in 1849. But the result of this measure was the supersession of the old landlords by a new class of men who purchased land mainly for the sake of profit. Rents were increased and the defaulters were thrown out of their land. The policy therefore proved extremely hard to the poor peasants. Government tried to deal with lawlessness with a strong hand, but this could not remove the causes of discontent.

In 1848 the Irish people were caught in the wave of revolution which had been sweeping over the continent. The "Young Ireland" had found a leader in Smith O'Brien, the son of an Irish baronet. He was a cultured young man and entered Parliament as a Tory. But in 1843 he joned the ranks of the Repealers and gradually he was placed at the head of the young revolutionaries. On the outbreak of revolutions in Europe an envoy was sent to

France to arrange for an expedition to Ireland. But the French revolutionists did not like to lose the sympathy of England for an alliance with the Irish visionaries. A small engagement, however, took place between the police and a small contingent of the revolutionists at what was called "Widow McCormack's cabbage-garden" on July 29, 1848. O'Brien was arrested along with some of his accomplices. Six of the chief cities of Ireland were proclaimed and Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. O'Brien was sentenced to death on the charge of high treason; but the sentence was commuted and he was transported to Australia. His accomplices were also sentenced and the "Young Ireland" collapsed.

Next year Queen Victoria paid a visit to Cork, Dublin and Belfast and assured the people of her personal interest in their affairs. This had its effect upon the embittered feelings of the Irish people. The spirit of conciliation was kept up by Russell by an extension of the Irish franchise. Between 1848 and 1865 there was a lull in Irish politics although the discontent of the people did not abate. The feelings against the Britons were not less bitter. A large number of the Irish crossed over to America, and the population of Ireland was reduced to 4,500,000. The emigrants collected funds in America to help their relatives to join them. But even in their exile they could not forget their land of birth for which they cherished deep affection. They organised a movement in America for the salvation of Ireland.

Fenianism. The exodus to America produced a movement for the liberation of Ireland by force. The Irish people considered the large number of deaths in the famine as a result of the negligence of the Government towards the Irish life. They pledged to retaliate the deaths of their fellow-countrymen. Secret societies were organised in the several

parts of Ireland. One revolutionary society under the name of Phoenix National and Literary Society was formed at Skibbereen in the county of Cork for the purpose of organising a revolution. The members of this society had taken a vow to establish a Republic in Ireland. The founder of this society was a man named Jeremiah Donovan. Government got information of this secret society and arrested twenty of its leaders in December, 1858. One of them was transported and others imprisoned for a few months. The timely action of the Government scotched the conspiracy in Ireland but the movement became henceforth very active in America.

A Fenian Brotherhood was organised in America under the leadership of John O'Mahony a survivor of the revolution of '48. Thousands of the Irish-Americans had fought in the American Civil War and gained experience which they were eager to employ in the service of their land of birth. A similar Brotherhood existed in Ireland. They had a newspaper, the *Irish People*, devoted to the propaganda of their ideals. In 1865 the proprietor and directors of the paper were arrested. The paper was suppressed and shortly afterwards James Stephen the leader of the Brotherhood was put in Richmond prison from where he managed to escape. Donovan and his associates were also arrested and sentenced to long terms of penal servitude. Evidence of a widespread conspiracy to subvert the Government was traced by the police and the Irish Executive obtained exceptional powers to deal with the situation. As usual on such occasions the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and prompt action was taken to arrest the progress of this subversive movement. Sporadic outbursts in the different parts were suppressed and about 300 Fenians were placed on trial on the charge of treason-felony or felony.

The Fenian Brotherhood in America led a raid against Canada but they were driven back, six of them were captured and shot. A daring plot was laid to seize the Castle of Chester in England. A number of young men reached Chester on the 11th February, 1867, but on the arrival of a large number of British troops they left the place and some of them crossed over to Ireland. Seventy of them were arrested on their arrival in Dublin. Another bold action of the Fenians was the attempt to rescue two Fenians accused of felony from the prison vans in Manchester. Five of the culprits connected with this incident were sentenced to death. The trial of these persons and their execution were resented by the people and evoked widespread demonstrations. These convicts were described as " Manchester Martyrs." Similar incidents happened at other places and Government had to consider seriously to eradicate the revolutionary movement by a comprehensive policy.

Gladstone's Irish Policy. The Conservative Ministry of Disraeli proposed a number of remedies with regard to the relations between landlords and tenants, and economic development and education of the Irish people. It was also proposed to equalise Church Establishments in Ireland. But Gladstone as leader of the Liberal party urged the principle of religious equality and the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. He carried against the Government three resolutions in which he demanded the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, prevention of new personal interests and the transfer of the Temporalities in Archbishops, Bishops and ecclesiastical dignities and benefices to the management of Parliament. On the success of Gladstone's motion. Disraeli submitted his resignation but he announced in Parliament that the Queen had refused to accept the resignation but promised to dissolve Parliament

at an early date. Shortly afterwards Gladstone introduced a Bill dealing with the Temporalities. It was carried in the Commons but heavily defeated in the Lords. Parliament was then dissolved on November 11, 1868 and in the subsequent General Election the Liberals were returned with a majority of about 120. Before the meeting of Parliament Disraeli resigned and Gladstone was summoned to form a Ministry.

On assuming power Gladstone declared that it was his mission to pacify Ireland. He compared the Irish problem to an "upas tree" having three branches, *viz.* the Church, the land and education. In the first year of his Ministry he cut off the first branch. The Irish Church Bill was introduced in the Commons on March 1, 1869. It was proposed to disestablish the Irish Church from January 1, 1871, and to dissolve its connection with the English Church. The Commons passed the Bill by the end of May by a majority of 114. Although the Queen did not approve of the measure she advised the Lords not to reject it.

But the Lords were critical. The deadlock was avoided through the intervention of Lord Granville and Lord Cairns by providing for the disestablished Irish Church. A representative Church Body was formed to reorganise the Church. The measure improved the moral tone of the Anglican Church but it failed as a measure of pacification.

The question of paramount interest in Ireland was land. The previous measures, such as the Tithe Commutation Act of 1839, or the Encumbered Estates Act of 1849, or the Land Act of 1860, did not solve the difficulties of the Irish tenants. The Encumbered Estates Act created a new race of commercial landlords and the Land Act of 1860 encouraged evictions and embittered the relations between owners and occupiers. The Irish tenants had a customary

right in the soil which the landlords denied. Gladstone's Act of 1870 was a measure conceived in a different spirit. Its main objects were to deter the landlord from throwing out a tenant capriciously and he had to pay compensation for any disturbance caused to the tenant; secondly, to legalise the tenant-right; thirdly, to secure to the outgoing tenant compensation for unexhausted improvements; and lastly, to facilitate purchase by tenants. The last clause was inserted at the instance of Bright. The chief defects of the Act were that it did not provide against arbitrary increase of rent, nor did it define the respective rights of owner and occupier. Moreover, the purchase clause did not work satisfactorily on account of its complications.

Side by side with this policy of conciliation Gladstone adopted measures for the preservation of peace. In 1870 the Peace Preservation Act was passed, which forbade the use of fire-arms in districts proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant, and persons desirous of keeping arms were required to obtain license. Police was authorised to make domiciliary visits in search of arms, arrest suspicious persons wandering about at night, and whenever thought necessary the venue of trials could be changed. In cases of agrarian murder compensation could be levied upon a district. Magistrates were given powers of summary jurisdiction and the Executive could suppress any newspaper supporting intimidation. But to create a favourable atmosphere for his reforms Gladstone granted amnesty to the Fenian prisoners who were undergoing penal servitude, but these released prisoners were banished from the United Kingdom. In spite of these measures there was no peace in Ireland. Agrarian crimes prevailed in several parts, and the country was under the law of terrorism. The Ribbon Society exercised the most powerful influence. "Ribbon law and not the law of the land

appears to be that which is obeyed. It exerts such power that no landlord dare exercise the commonest rights of property; no farmer or other employer dare exercise his own judgment or discretion as to whom he shall employ; in fact so far does the influence of the Society extend that a man scarcely dare enter into open competition in the fairs or markets with any one known to belong to the Society," said Lord Hartington. With a view to deal with the situation an Act was passed giving full authority to the Excutive. This law was in force for two years.

The Home Rule Movement. Coercion did not succeed in crushing the opposition of the Irish. On the other hand, the movement for separation took a definite shape. A society known as the "Home Government Association of Ireland" was formed on May 19, 1870 at the instance of Isaac Butt and others. The object of this Society was to obtain for Ireland full autonomy in her internal affairs. In the Parliamentary bye-elections the candidates put up by the party obtained a number of seats. In 1873 the Society changed its name into the "Home Rule League". Gladstone had nothing but scorn for this new League at this stage. He still believed that the Irish problem could be solved by the British Parliament without taking the extreme course of separating Ireland from the United Kingdom.

Irish Education. The Irish Catholics were not pleased with the Queen's Colleges established by Peel. They considered them as "Godless" colleges. They established a university of their own at Dublin with John Henry Newman at its head (1854). This University did not receive any help from the State and the condition of Irish education was very bad. Gladstone introduced in 1873 the Irish University Bill which created a widespread agitation and wrecked the Government. He proposed to abolish the Queen's University and Colleges and to recognise the University of Dublin

as the sole degree-giving authority in Ireland. Neither the Protestants nor the Catholics approved of the scheme and the Government was defeated by a majority of three. Gladstone placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen but as Disraeli was not prepared to accept office without a majority in Parliament Gladstone continued till March 1874.

In the General Election the Home Rulers captured about sixty seats. But they could not change the policy of the British Parliament. Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield), tried to improve the system of education in his own way. Sufficient provision was made for elementary and intermediate education from the surplus of the Irish Church and in 1879 he succeeded in legislating about the Irish University. The Queen's University was abolished and the Royal University of Ireland was established as an examining body with sufficient endowment for Fellowships, Scholarships, and Prizes. The new system helped the Catholics to take a full share in the advantages placed at their disposal and they accepted it without opposition.

The Land League. The trouble over the land question was still very acute. The economic condition again became distressing in 1879. The tenants could not pay their rent and their land was sold out. The peasantry lost all sense of justice and restraint. They took to violent means of averting their ruin. There was a frenzy of lawlessness; landlords and their agents were killed and the witnesses were intimidated. No conviction was possible according to the ordinary methods of trial. A Land League was formed by Michael Davitt with the object of bringing pressure upon the Government that rents be reduced and that the tenants be enabled to own their land. On the death of Isaac Butt the leadership of the Home Rule Party had passed on to

Charles Stewart Parnell, an Irish landowner of decent type. He was born in 1846 and educated as a Barrister-at-law. His sympathies were aroused by the execution of the Manchester Martyrs. While on a visit to America he met the Fenians and gradually he made the cause of the tenantry his own. He was elected to Parliament as representative of Meath in 1875 and soon he jumped into the first rank of politicians. He realised that the battle of Home Rule should be fought in Parliament and that victory could be obtained by maintaining the agitation in Ireland and America. He went to America once again in 1879 and convinced the "New Fenians" of the efficacy of Parliamentary action. He became the President of the Land League founded by Michael Davitt and began a vigorous campaign to overthrow landlordism. If anybody ventured to purchase land from which an Irish tenant had been evicted his life was in danger. The landlords, they considered, constituted a British garrison to bar the way to national independence. The Land League did nothing to stop the criminal practices of the people who indulged in what is called "moonlighting." On the other hand a new purchaser was to be treated as a social outcaste, "a leper of old" as Parnell called such a man.

The administration of Beaconsfield was severely criticised and in his Midlothian campaign Gladstone exposed the evils of Imperialism. In the General Election of 1880 the Liberals were returned with an overwhelming majority and Gladstone was once again asked to form a Ministry. Shortly afterwards, Beaconsfield died (April 19, 1881). In the beginning the Liberals tried to govern Ireland by the ordinary laws but within six months it was felt necessary to have recourse to extraordinary laws. Early in 1881 Coercion Acts were passed on the lines of the old measures.

The Irish members adopted obstructionist tactics. They would talk for hours together so that no business could be done. After a sitting of forty-one hours in continuation Mr. Speaker Brand introduced the system of "closure" by putting the question to vote. This was the first time in the history of Parliament that such a procedure was adopted. The *Protection of Life and Property Act* was meant as a measure for the maintenance of law and order and for ensuring the safety of the people.

The main task of the Government, however, was to solve the difficulties of the Irish peasantry. A Royal Commission had been appointed in 1879 with the the Earl of Bessborough as chairman to enquire into the matter. The Report of the Commission was published in 1881. On the basis of the recommendations of the Commission Gladstone drafted his Land Bill. It was provided that the fundamental principles of the Bill would be the "three F's"—fixity of tenure, fair rent and free sale. The tenants were very unstable as they could be thrown out at any time. This was prejudicial both to the landlords and to the tenants. The Bill provided for a Judicial Commission to be established to fix rents, and a rent once fixed could not be changed within fifteen years. It further provided that a tenant desirous of purchasing land could obtain three-fourths of the price from the State as loan. This was a measure of great importance to the tenants. But the Irish Nationalists did not consider it sufficient and did not co-operate with the Government to restore order. But in Parliament the Bill did not meet with much opposition.

The lawlessness prevalent in Ireland continued unabated. Exasperated by the attitude of the Nationalists Gladstone adopted repressive policy. Parnell was arrested on October 13, 1881 and placed in Kilmainham Gaol.

The Land League was "proclaimed" when it issued a manifesto urging that no rent should be paid till the leaders were released. The Chief Secretary Forster visited the disturbed areas with great courage. He saved himself by an accident. When the policy of repression failed Government changed the policy. Earl Spencer was appointed Viceroy with Lord Frederick Cavendish as Chief Secretary. Negotiations were carried on with Parnell in the Kilmainham Gaol. A treaty was signed in the gaol by which the Nationalists agreed to slow down the agitation and Government promised to introduce a satisfactory Arrears Bill. An announcement was made by the Prime Minister on May 2 regarding the release of the prisoners. Chief Secretary Forster was not in agreement with this policy. His place was, therefore, filled by Lord Cavendish, brother of Lord Hartington. He went with the new Viceroy to Dublin on May 6. On the evening of the same day Mr. Burke the hated Under-Secretary was stabbed at Phœnix Park, and Lord Cavendish was also stabbed while he tried to save Burke. The murderers, called the "Invincibles", did not know his identity and were extremely sorry for him and his family. Lord Spencer carried on the Government for three years firmly. The crime in the Phœnix Park made the task of conciliation very difficult. People in England lost all sympathies for the Irish. A Crimes Act was passed by Parliament; and according to the terms of the Kilmainham treaty an Arrears Act was also passed. This relieved the burden of the tenants to some extent. Although lawlessness was denounced by Parnell and the Nationalists they were not reconciled to the British rule. Their tactics were changed and on the ashes of the Land League was raised the National League formed with the object of securing Home Rule for Ireland.

Home Rule for Ireland. The Liberal Government was defeated on the details of the budget of 1885 by the combined votes of the Conservatives and the Irish Nationalists on the 8th June. Gladstone resigned and the Queen asked Lord Salisbury, the leader of the Conservatives in the Lords, to form a Ministry. The Conservatives tried to retain the support of the Nationalists by refusing to renew the Crimes Act. An attempt was made to come to an understanding with Parnell as a result of which the Irish votes in the English constituencies were given to the Conservatives in the election of November. As a measure of conciliation the Conservative Government carried an amendment to the Land Act so that the tenants could borrow the full amount of the money necessary to purchase their holdings and their land would become automatically their own at the end of forty-nine years. The Ashbourne Act, as the measure is popularly known, is the most effective agrarian reform carried out in Ireland.

In the General Election the Liberals had a majority of eighty-five over the Conservatives but the Nationalists captured eighty-four seats, so that the balance was held by the Nationalists. Gladstone had in the meantime developed a plan of granting Home Rule to Ireland. He was prepared to support the Conservatives in a measure to concede to Ireland the claims put forward by the Nationalists. But Salisbury had no such intention. The Government was defeated by seventy-nine votes when it moved for a new Coercion Bill for Ireland. The defeat of the Conservatives was decisive and Gladstone came to power for the third time at the age of seventy-seven. He entered into the task of satisfying the Irish with boldness. When his full scheme was sketched some of the important members of his party went against him. The Liberal Party was split up and the anti-Home Rulers formed a Unionist

Party along with the Conservatives. Lord Hartington, John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain and many other stalwart leaders of the Liberal Party seceded from Gladstone. Nothing daunted, the veteran champion of the weaker nationalities stood firm. John Morley, Lord Rosebery, Campbell-Bannerman and others still stood by him.

The first Home Rule Bill was introduced by Gladstone on April 8, 1886. The Bill provided a Legislative Body for Ireland, consisting of two Orders. In the first Order there would be twenty-eight representative Peers of Ireland and seventy-five members elected by select constituencies. The Second Order would consist of 206 members to be returned by the existing constituencies of counties and towns. The two Orders could sit together but they could vote separately whenever thought necessary. There would be no Irish members in the British House of Commons. The power of the Irish Legislature was restricted ; it could not legislate upon questions of defence, foreign relations, trade and navigation, currency and customs and many other matters of Imperial importance. The Lord-Lieutenant would become the constitutional Executive to be assisted by a Privy Council and a responsible Ministry. As soon as the Bill was introduced in an impassioned speech of three hours and a half Lord Hartington led the opposition. The Conservatives opposed the Bill as a body. Hartington was not willing to depart from the settlement of Pitt. Bright was shocked by the wave of terrorism in Ireland and felt that the way in which the Irish showed their sympathies for the criminals proved the incapacity of the Irish to govern themselves. Chamberlain would have liked federal system of government for the British Isles with provincial legislatures in the different parts under the supreme control of an Imperial Parliament. Parnell gave his support to the Bill. In the second reading the Bill was

thrown out by a majority of thirty. Ninety-three Liberals voted against the Bill. This decided the fate of Ireland for the time being. Parliament was dissolved immediately to let the country give its verdict.

The General Election proved disastrous to the Irish cause. Gladstone's party secured only 191 seats, the Conservatives captured 316 and the Liberal Unionists 78 seats. With 83 Irish Nationalists Gladstone was in a minority. The Unionists gained ascendancy for twenty years with one short break. In this period the Irish Nationalists could not expect any generous measure of self-government. Hartington did not join the Conservatives in forming the Government as the latter would not accept his Whig principles. Salisbury formed a purely Conservative Ministry with Sir Michael Hicks Beach as Chief Secretary for Ireland. The latter had to resign in 1887 and his place was taken by Arthur Balfour. Gladstone went to Bavaria for a holiday.

Lord Salisbury was in power from 1886 to 1892. He was a man of wide experience, possessed a keen intellect and never lost his patience. The chief aims of his government were the maintenance of peace, security and firm administration and non-interference in people's affairs or interests. The leader of the House of Commons was Lord Randolph Churchill, son of the Duke of Marlborough, a young man of indomitable energy. He could not remain long in the Cabinet on account of his zeal for economy. So far as Ireland was concerned Balfour got another Crimes Act passed in 1887. This Act was not restricted by any time limit and remained in force so long as the British Parliament controlled the affairs of Ireland. He then amended the Land Act in the interests of the leaseholders.

The hopes of the Irish Nationalists for self-government had been dashed to the ground by the failure of Gladstone. The Unionist Government was bent upon restoring order. To add to the difficulties of Ireland there was agricultural depression and the landlords would not remit any of their legal dues. Parnell proposed that the rents fixed before 1885 should be reduced. But his Tenants' Relief Bill was rejected by a majority. The Irish National League in the *Plan of Campaign*, gave the reply of Ireland to the policy of the Unionists. The plan was that if a tenant could not get his rent reduced and the landlord did not accept the "fair rent" then the money would be credited to a general fund for the purpose of opposing evictions. It was considered by the Irish judges as a conspiracy to defeat the law. Crimes increased in the country and eighteen counties were proclaimed under the Crimes Act. The National League was declared as an unlawful association. At a meeting at Mitchelstown in September 1887 police used firearms and shot three persons. This greatly roused up the indignation of the old Gladstone and "remember Mitchelstown" became a watchward with him.

A letter had appeared in *The Times* under the signature of Parnell approving of the Phoenix Park murders. But he denied that it was written by him. Parnell asked for a Select Committee but Balfour instead appointed a Special Commission consisting of three distinguished judges to investigate the charges against Parnell and the Irish leaders. Sir Charles Russel defended Parnell. In the course of investigation it was proved that the letter had been forged. The Report of the Commission was published in 1890 and acquitted Parnell and his colleagues of the charge of sympathy with the murders. But they pointed out that the leaders were responsible to some extent for

the agrarian troubles as some of them were connected with the Land League. The Report produced a reaction in favour of Parnell but he lost his leadership as his name was mentioned as co-respondent in a divorce case. He did not long survive this disgrace. The controversy was forgotten on account of his death on October 6, 1891 at the early age of forty-six.

The General Election of 1892 again placed Gladstone in power. The Home Rule party had a majority of forty, including 274 Liberals and 85 Nationalists. Gladstone was an old man of eighty-three and he accepted office only with the object of settling the Irish problem. On assuming office the new Ministry suspended the Crimes Act for a favourable reception of the Home Rule Bill. The Second Home Rule Bill was introduced on February 13, 1893. There were some modifications in the new Bill. There would be a bicameral legislature in Ireland: A Legislative Council of 48 members and a Legislative Assembly of 103 members. In case of disagreement there would be a joint session of the chambers. Ireland would be represented in the British Parliament as well and its representatives would have the same powers as the members from other parts, The Bill was carried in the Commons by a majority of 34 but was thrown out by the Lords by 419 to 41. The old man was prepared to go to the country for a mandate but he was dissuaded by his colleagues. There was a strong indignation against the Lords, and people demanded that the voice of the electors should decide all questions. On account of his increasing infirmity Gladstone resigned in March 1894 and after four years' rest he passed away on May 19, 1898.

After Gladstone's resignation the Queen appointed Lord Rosebery as the Prime Minister. He carried on the Government for fifteen months. In June 1895 the Gov-

ernment was defeated on a War Office vote; and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister for the third time. But as he did not possess a majority, Parliament had to be dissolved. In the General Election the Unionists formed a solid party. They won 411 seats and the Liberals had to go into "the wilderness". For ten years the Conservatives governed the country. In this period Ireland received very little attention. The economic condition improved and in their prosperity the Irish tenants forgot their bitterness. To train Irish peasants and farmers in the art of economic management Sir Horace Plunkett started the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. They were taught the method of co-operation and the new co-operative societies considerably improved the condition of the peasantry. In 1903 an Act was passed known as the Wyndham Act by which the peasants could become proprietors by acquiring private property. Money could be advanced by the Government for purchasing land. Compensation was paid to the landlords and the scheme worked satisfactorily on both sides.

The Liberals came to power in 1906. Home Rule was not an issue in the General Election but the Liberals were sympathetic towards the Irish aspirations. A Third Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1908. It was passed in the Commons but rejected by the Lords. The Liberals persisted in their policy and three times the Bill was rejected by the Lords. In the meantime Asquith had reduced the powers of the Lords by his Parliament Act. In 1914 the Bill was submitted to the King for signature according to the provisions of the Parliament Act.

The Bill was introduced first in 1912. It provided for an Irish Parliament of two Houses, for the control of military, foreign, monetary and commercial questions by the British Parliament, and for 42 Irish representatives in the

British House of Commons. The Nationalist Party led by John Redmond, welcomed the Bill although they were not satisfied with the restricted powers granted to the Irish Legislature. But the greatest opposition came from Ulster where the Protestants lived. They feared that if Ireland were granted Home Rule they would be in a minority and lose all political influence. The Ulstermen were, therefore, determined to fight to the last. They urged that Ulster should be separated from the Southern Ireland; but the Nationalists were not prepared to accept this arrangement. The Ulstermen prepared for a civil war. At this stage England became involved in the Great War. The Irish leader Redmond undertook to keep Ireland in peace so long as the war would continue.

Sinn Fein. On the outbreak of the Great War the Home Rule Act was kept in abeyance. But the Nationalists had lost their influence in the country. A new party, under the leadership of Arthur Griffith and Eamon De Valera rose into prominence. This party, called the "Sinn Fien" meaning "We ourselves" had complete independence for Ireland as its chief object. They did not rely upon the British Parliament for the salvation of their country. The Sinn Fein was first organised as an intellectual and economic movement in 1904. Their programme was to develop national language and national customs and to make themselves economically independent of Great Britain. Their ultimate object was to make Ireland an independent Republic. On the failure of the Nationalist Party to obtain Home Rule the Sinn Feiners turned to politics. When England was busy in the Great War a rebellion took place at Easter in 1916; a part of Dublin was sacked. The rebels had their agents in Germany and the United States. Sir Roger Casement was arrested on

the charge of smuggling German arms, condemned for treason and shot. The severity of the punishment meted out to the rebels convinced the Irish people that chances of obtaining Home Rule by constitutional means were remote. They proclaimed the establishment of the Irish Republic and hoisted their flag of green and gold.

Lloyd George summoned a National Irish Convention in 1917 to discuss some method of amicable settlement. The Sinn Feiners did not come to the Convention and the Nationalists and the Unionists could not come to agreement. The attitude of Lloyd George to settle the problem by the British Government drove the Nationalists to the extremist party. In the General Election of 1918 the Sinn Feiners secured 76 seats but they refused to go to Westminster. They set up their own Government with De Valera as President. The elected members formed their Parliament (Dail Eireann) at Dublin in defiance of the British Government. A new constitution was drafted and payment of taxes to the British Government was stopped. The desperate struggle continued for three years. Frequent skirmishes took place between Republican riflemen and British or Ulster troops.

The Lloyd George Ministry promoted in Parliament another Home Rule Bill, in which Ireland was to be governed by two Parliaments. Six northern counties of Ulster were separated from the south. This was passed by Parliament but it did not satisfy the Sinn Feiners. But the proposal of the Government divided the Irish and a civil war continued for more than a year. Elections were held in June 1921 under the new Act; the Northern Parliament was duly formed but in the South only 15, out of 64 Senators, and 4, out of 128 Commoners, attended. The new constitution was rejected by the Irish people with

scorn. The British Government tried to suppress by force and martial law the Dail Eireann but the Sinn Feiners had sufficient resources at their disposal and made the situation intolerable. Court houses and constabulary barracks were destroyed, police and soldiers were killed and incalculable injury was done to life and property. On June 22 the King visited Belfast to open the Ulster Parliament and in the course of his speech he asked the Irish people to forgive and forget and to join in making a new era of peace and goodwill. This appeal went straight to the heart of the Irish. A truce was arranged between De Valera and the British Goverment through the intervention of General Smuts. All the members of Dail Eireann were released and De Valera came to London to attend a Conference with the representatives of the British Government and of Ulster.

In the Conference the British Government made the offer of Dominion status with complete autonomy in finance. But Great Britain would have supreme authority regarding defence and trade, and Ireland would have to bear a share of the National Debt. Dail Eireann considered the proposals in a full session and refused the offer of Dominion status as illusory. They urged complete detachment from Great Britain. De Valera sent a note to the Prime Minister in which he intimated that they were prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of Ulster and that honourable peace could be secured "on the basis of the broad-guiding principle of government by the consent of the governed." Lloyd George agreed with this guiding principle but said that no settlement was possible unless Ireland accepted the loyal partnership under one sovereign in the British Commonwealth. Another Conference was invited in October and after long discussions a treaty was signed in December. Ireland was accorded the status of a self-governing

dominion. The Southern Ireland would be called the Irish Free State (Saorstat Eireann) and Ulster would be governed by a separate Parliament under the Act of 1920. De Valera still maintained the principle of independence but his party was split up. Arthur Griffith accepted the arrangement and Parliament passed an Act embodying the terms of the treaty (1922).

The treaty and the constitution of the Irish Free State did not bring peace to Ireland. De Valera still led a section of the Sinn Feiners. He did not agree to take an oath of allegiance to the King of England. Arthur Griffith was elected President in his place. On his death, Michael Collins was elected President of the Provisional Government. Collins was murdered within ten days of his assuming office and Cosgrave was elected President. The new Government carried on the administration with great courage in the midst of terrible danger. In the first election under the new Act the pro-treaty party secured 108 seats and the anti-treaty party 45. Cosgrave had, therefore, sufficient backing in the country in his early administration. De Valera was arrested and his party was severely dealt with. The Irish Free State was admitted to the League of Nations in 1923.

In ten years after the treaty Ireland gradually settled down to a peaceful life. In 1932 the Republican Party captured the majority of seats in the Dail and the Cosgrave Government was replaced by that of De Valera. The new Government is insistent upon the abolition of oath and cancelling the debt. De Valera sought another election in 1933 and has been returned to power with a majority in the Dail. The situation, therefore, seems to be critical. Will Ireland be given the right to secede and to set up an independent and United Republic or Great Britain will keep her divided and within the Empire by force ?

CHAPTER XLIII

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY.

The Concert of Europe. Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, represented England in the Vienna Congress. He was a leading figure in the Assembly. He was a man of calm, unruffled and passionless judgment. He commanded the admiration of continental diplomatists on account of his moderation. He respected the feelings of nationalism although in the Congress of Vienna the powers did not appreciate these sentiments. Castlereagh was one of the eminent statesmen of England in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland when the Act of Union was carried out. For a number of years he was Secretary of State for the Colonies and War. He became Foreign Secretary in 1812 and "for ten years he was the real ruler of England and the arbiter of Europe."

At Vienna the big powers not only tried to crush the revolutionary ideals of France but to devise means of maintaining peace in Europe. Along with the Peace Treaty of Paris the Powers formed two alliances of significant character. At the instance of Tsar Alexander of Russia was formed the Holy Alliance. It was joined by Russia, Prussia and Austria but England was no party to it. The result of this was that the first three Powers were drawn together and controlled the affairs of Europe in the way dictated to them by Metternich. The more important alliance of the time was the Quadruple Alliance formed at the instance of Castlereagh. By this the four Great Powers engaged to maintain the Treaty of Paris and to decide any

problem that might arise at a Congress called for the purpose. The main object of the Concert of Europe was to avoid war. In 1818 at the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle [it was decided to withdraw the Army of Occupation from France and to admit her into the Concert as she had fully paid up the indemnity. Shortly after this the Powers pulled in different directions. The nationalist movements in the various parts of Europe were looked at with suspicion by Metternich and the European Powers were persuaded to intervene in the interests of autocracy. But England did not want to coerce the nationalists.

Metternich compelled the German states to pass the Carlsbad Decrees in 1819 so that liberty of thought and speech might be suppressed in those states. This was considered by Castlereagh an as infringement of the rights of the sovereign states and he would rather have these decrees repudiated. Further difference of opinion arose on the outbreak of nationalist risings in Spain, Piedmont and Naples. The Powers met in Congress at Troppau in Austrian Silesia in October. 1820. In this Congress Prussia and Russia supported Metternich in drawing up the Protocol of Troppau, which justified intervention in the internal revolution of any European State in the interest of peace. But Castlereagh instructed the British representative to insist that in self-defence Austria or any other State might intervene in the affairs of a neighbouring State, say Italy, but no plan of aggrandisement would be tolerated. The Eastern Powers pleaded that their action was directed against attempts to overthrow constitutional and legitimate governments. France agreed with this view but Castlereagh condemned the principles enunciated at: Troppau although he did not object to Austria interfering in Naples. On the basis of the understanding at Troppau Austria crushed the rising in Naples and France gathered her troops to crush

the rising in Spain. In the meantime the Greeks rose in revolt against the Turkish rule in March 1821. Russia was in sympathy with the Greeks as the Tsar of Russia was the head of the Orthodox Church to which the Greeks belonged. But this was in conflict with the spirit of the Protocol of Troppau. Castlereagh wrote a letter to the Tsar explaining the British policy. He did not desire that Russia alone should intervene in the affairs of Greece. A Congress of the Powers was called at Verona in September, 1822, to consider the questions arising out of the situation in Greece and Spain. Castlereagh was to represent Great Britain but before the Congress could meet he had died by his own hand on August 12, 1822.

The British Foreign Minister had drafted a memorandum for the use of the Duke of Wellington, which indicated clearly the attitude of his Government towards the problems to be discussed at Verona. In the Italian question, England would not take part; in the Eastern question the differences between Russia and Turkey should be settled before the Greek rising was considered; and in the domestic revolution of Spain no foreign Power had any right to interfere. With regard to the Spanish colonies in America any colony which had actually established its independence should be recognised, but for this purpose there was to be no concert with any other Power. The memorandum was a masterly exposition of the foreign policy of Castlereagh, which has been summarised in the following passage: "A strenuous insistence upon national independence: abstention from interference in the domestic concerns of independent states; and a frank recognition of the claims of new nationalities which had *de facto* established their independence."

Foreign Policy of Canning. Castlereagh was succeeded by George Canning. He was a statesman of brilliant

parts. He was born in 1770 and entered Parliament as a follower of Pitt in 1793. Three years later, he became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and became a Commissioner of the Board of Control for India in 1799. After holding a few other offices he went out of office with Pitt in 1801. When Pitt returned to power in 1804 he became Treasurer of the Navy and resigned on the death of his chief in 1806. In the Portland Ministry he became Foreign Secretary from 1807 to 1809. On account of his difference with Castlereagh he retired and did not hold any important office. For a time he went as Ambassador to Lisbon and latterly became President of the Board of Control. He was about to leave for India as Governor-General when Castlereagh died and was then offered the Foreign Office with leadership of the House of Commons.

Canning still possessed full vigour and had all the qualifications of a leader. He took up the policy of Castlereagh with regard to Spain, Greece and the Spanish colonies in America. In the Congress at Verona the Duke of Wellington stressed the view that a nation had the full right to set up whatever form of government it thought desirable. On account of the strong attitude of the British Government no concerted action was taken against Spain. But France helped to restore Ferdinand VII to power on the principle agreed upon at Troppau. Canning was not a party to this agreement and could not stop the intervention of France. But in the matter of the revolted colonies of Spain he became sufficiently strong to oppose the wishes of the Powers. The colonies had trade relations with England and the English trade was in danger on account of the prevailing lawlessness there. Spain was not in a position to regain her control there, and if the colonies were denied the right to govern their own affairs there would have been no government to maintain order. Canning recognised their indepen-

dence by appointing British consuls to the principal towns in October, 1823. He further represented to the President of the United States the danger of the intervention of the European Powers in America. President Monroe in a message to the Congress on December 2, 1823, explained the attitude of his Government towards the colonies and he declared in the course of the message : "We should consider any attempt, on their part, to extend their system to any portion of the hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing Colonies or Dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, and we shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any manner, their destiny, by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

The declaration of the Monroe doctrine saved the colonies from the intervention of the European Powers. Canning was proud enough to declare in the House of Commons : " I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the old." In pursuance of this policy the independence of Buenos Ayres, Columbia and Mexico was recognised in 1824, and of Bolivia, Chili and Peru in 1825. This action of Canning proved fatal to the Concert of Europe. The Powers could not settle the affairs of Europe by holding congresses any more, and the strong combination of the Eastern Powers failed to coerce the struggling nationalities.

Since 1460 the Greeks had been subjugated by the Turks. A Hellenic movement started in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in 1821 a rising took place under

the leadership of a Greek exile named Prince Alexander Ypsilanti. The people of England showed their sympathy with the Greeks and many of them enlisted themselves in the revolutionary army. But the British Government did not openly support the Greeks as they found that Russia would espouse the Greek cause. It was the policy of the British Government that the Turks should settle the differences with the Greeks without reference to Russia. In the interests of British commerce Canning was obliged to recognise the Greeks as belligerents in March, 1823. Russia invited England to consider the Eastern question at a joint conference at St. Petersburg. There it was suggested that Greece should be divided into three autonomous provinces nominally under Turkish suzerainty but actually under Russian protection. The idea was repugnant to the Greeks as well as to the Turks. The Sultan had called Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, to his aid and the Egyptain army under Ibrahim, son of Mehemet, had occupied Crete and crossed over to the mainland. At the instance of Canning a joint note was presented to the combatants in March, 1825. The Turks rejected the offer of mediation and the Greeks, on the other hand, placed themselves under British protection. Tsar Alexander died in December and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas who was bent upon driving the Turks out of Europe. Canning deputed the Duke of Wellington to the Court of St. Petersburg in order to come to an understanding over the Greek question. The representatives of the two Powers signed the Protocol of St. Peterburg on April 4, 1826, by which the two Powers renounced any territory or commercial advantage for themselves and agreed to offer their mediation to the Porte on the understanding that Greece would be granted virtual independence though she would pay some tribute to the Porte. The terms of the protocol were accepted by the Turks in the Convention

of Ackermann (October 7, 1826), so far as they defined the relations between Russia and Turkey. France joined Russia and Great Britain, and in order to put pressure upon the Porte signed the Treaty of London (July, 1827). A joint note was presented to the Porte on August 16, but the latter rejected the offer of mediation. The London Treaty was the last act of Canning before his death on August 8. The British and French Admirals in the Mediterranean were forced into an engagement at Navarino on October 20 and destroyed the Turkish fleet. The action was not approved of by the British Government as the Admiral exceeded the instructions. The King of England regretted the incident formally on January 29, 1828. On the death of Canning the Duke of Wellington was placed in charge of the Government. The new Minister did not maintain the policy of Canning. He was anxious to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. But Russia persisted in putting pressure upon Turkey. The Russian General Diebitsch appeared before Adrianople on August 19 and threatened Constantinople. In these circumstances the Porte had no alternative but to submit to the Treaty of Adrianople dictated by the Russian General (September 14, 1829). The final settlement of the Greek question was made in the Treaty of London of 1832. Greece became completely independent and Prince Otto of Bavaria was offered the crown.

Another foreign question in which England was involved was the question of succession to the Portuguese throne. Napoleon had deposed the House of Braganza from the Government of Portugal in 1807 and the royal family left for Brazil. But during the revolution in Spain, in 1820, John VI returned to Portugal, leaving his son Pedro in Brazil. In 1822, the Brazilians declared themselves independent and acknowledged Pedro as their Emperor. John VI died in 1826. Pedro did not come to Portugal but nominated his

daughter Maria as his heir. But Pedro's brother Miguel had started an agitation for restoration of absolute monarchy and laid claim to the throne. He was supported by France. But the English Minister Canning would not permit any interference by any other power in the affairs of Portugal. Canning's strong attitude stopped Spain from interfering in the interests of Miguel. An English army was sent to protect the constitutional government in Portugal and remained there till April, 1828. On the death of Canning things turned in another direction. Don Miguel who had been appointed as Regent of Maria tried to usurp the throne. The Duke of Wellington withdrew the British troops from Portugal. Maria reached England in September, but the Duke was not prepared to take up arms in her interests. But English troops went to the Azores to recover the throne for Maria. The war continued till 1834 when Miguel was compelled to renounce his rights to the throne. The British foreign policy was then moulded by an astute politician, Palmerston. The constitutional government in Portugal was restored.

Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston. In the Whig Ministry of Lord Grey, Lord Palmerston became Foreign Secretary in 1830. Henry John Temple was born in 1784 and became the third Viscount Palmerston. He was a statesman of great eminence as he sat in sixteen different Parliaments under four different kings; he was a member of the House of Commons for sixty years and was in office for fifty. Between 1807 and 1865 he was included in every ministry except those of Peel and Derby. At the beginning of his political career he was a Tory and remained in the War Office for twenty years. He was greatly influenced by Canning and tried to follow his principles. In the affairs of Greece, Spain and Portugal he kept to the policy laid down by Canning. The Whig Ministry had to deal with

the situation in Belgium with great care. Belgium had been added to the Netherlands in the Vienna Settlement. The Powers wanted to set up a strong barrier between France and Germany. But the Belgians differed from the Dutch in language, religion and culture. Moreover, they found that the union was not to their interest. When the French people overthrew the Bourbon monarchy in the July Revolution of 1830 the Belgians resolved to set up their own government. This was a challenge to the Vienna Settlement and the union was one of the achievements of the British diplomacy. The Belgians would not be satisfied with anything short of independence. Prussia and Austria were then busy with the Polish question and it was feared that France would support Belgium and might establish her influence at Antwerp and thus interfere with British trade. To avert this catastrophe Palmerston took up the cause of Belgium. A conference of the Powers was held at London; Holland and Belgïum were asked to stop hostilities and when Belgium would not agree to any other arrangement the Powers were persuaded to accept in principle the independence of Belgium. But there was some difficulty regarding the exact terms and the person to be selected as king. Belgium did not agree to the allotment of Luxemburg to Holland and the financial stipulations, counting upon the support of France. The throne of Belgium was offered to the second son of Louise Philippe, King of France. Palmerston did not like the growth of French influence and forced Louis Philippe to withdraw the claims of his son. In his place the crown was offered to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg and the powers agreed to the proposal (June 26, 1831). But Holland still persisted in her opposition and in her helpless condition Belgium appealed to England and France for assistance. Louis Philippe sent immediate relief and forced the Dutch

to leave Belgium. In the definitive Treaty of London in 1839 the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the Powers, *viz.*, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, France, Russia and Holland. Through the firmness of Palmerston three definite results were obtained : the settlement of Vienna was broken without a European war ; the independent kingdom of Belgium was established with the guarantee of neutrality by the Powers ; and France was not allowed to extend her territories or influence.

One of the greatest achievements of Palmerston was the revision of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi which had been concluded between Turkey and Russia. The question arose when Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, claimed the provinces of Syria and Damascus as reward for services rendered to the Sultan during the Greek War of Independence. Mehemet's son, Ibrahim, marched upon Syria and drove the Turks from that province by the middle of 1832. The Sultan was very unpopular and his subjects welcomed Ibrahim. The Sultan appealed to the Powers for help. Britain and France wanted that the matter should be peacefully settled but the Russians came forward with their help and forced Mehemet Ali to agree to certain terms. An offensive and defensive alliance was formed between Turkey and Russia, and the Porte agreed to close the Dardanelles to the war ships of all other nations. By this treaty signed at the palace of Unkiar Skelessi on July 8, 1833 Russia obtained control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The rise of the Russian influence was not agreeable to the British and Palmerston was bent upon undoing the treaty. But the three great Powers of the East at a secret treaty signed at Munchen-gratz bound themselves to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire (Sept. 1833).

Ibrahim Pasha lost the sympathies of the Syrians by his method of government and rebellions broke out in

1839. The Sultan tried to regain his authority by sending an expedition against Mehemet Ali. But the Turkish troops were defeated at Nisib (June 23, 1839). Russia was prepared to intervene but the British Foreign Minister insisted that the matter concerned all the European powers and he would not allow any independent action by Turkey. He proposed a Conference at Vienna but this was not approved of by Russia. There was difference of opinion between France and England regarding the position of Mehemet Ali. France was the only Power prepared to grant the extension of territory by Mehemet Ali in Syria but the other Powers wanted to settle the question jointly. Palmerston, as a compromise, proposed that Mehemet Ali should be recognised as the hereditary Pasha of Egypt and that his son should be allowed to govern in Syria. France insisted that the Pasha should not be deprived of the fruits of his victories. But the Powers came to an agreement without consulting France. The French Government was not in a position to enforce its will upon the other Powers. But the French Minister M. Thiers encouraged direct negotiations between the Pasha and the Porte. The Powers, therefore, drew up the Convention of London by which they tried to compel Mehemet Ali to accept the terms they had decided for him. When the Pasha did not yield Sir Charles Napier appeared before Beyrout according to the terms of the Convention of London. The Sultan issued orders for the deposition of the Pasha. Napier drove the army of Ibrahim from Syria and appeared before Alexandria. Mehemet Ali was compelled to sign a convention in which he was prepared to submit if he were assured of the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt. The Sultan agreed to these terms. By this action Russia was not allowed to retain her special position which she had at the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. Mehemet Ali was acknowledged as the hereditary Pasha of

Egypt and was granted the government of a few more provinces for life. The Convention of the Straits closed the Dardanelles to the foreign warships so long as the Porte was at peace. Turkey found in England a great friend. She was relieved of the Russian attention. But the relations between England and France became strained.

Anglo-French Relations. France felt greatly annoyed at the way in which Palmerston settled the Eastern question. The claims of Mehemet Ali, the protege of the French were ignored and a settlement arrived at without any reference to France. The French King averted the crisis by silently submitting to the inevitable. The relations between the two countries improved and in 1833, Queen Victoria paid a visit to the French King. But in 1842 an incident happened which was likely to create a breach. In the Island of Tahiti in the Pacific, a British missionary named George Pritchard who protested against the annexation of the island by the French was harshly treated by a French Admiral. The British Government strongly protested against this action and Louis Philippe cancelled the order of annexation and expressed his regret for injustice to Pritchard.

The French King tried to maintain cordiality with Britain by paying return visit to the British Queen in October, 1844. The relations, however, became once again strained on account of the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier, second son of Louis Philippe, with Louisa, the sister of the Spanish Queen Isabel (1846). There was an understanding that Louisa should not be married till Isabel was married and had children. Louis Philippe arranged the marriage of Isabel with Francis, Duke of Cadiz, who was supposed to be incapable of having any children. Palmerston strongly protested against this trick

played by the French King, as it was believed that this was arranged with a view to bring about a union of Spain with France. But this fear was groundless as Isabel got a son. The loss of English friendship was greatly felt by Louis Philippe.

During the revolution in 1848 Louis Philippe took his shelter in England. Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon the Great, was elected President of the new French Republic. But he was not satisfied with his limited powers. On December 2, 1851 Napoleon set himself up as Emperor by a *coup d'état.* Palmerston congratulated Napoleon on his achievement, without consulting the Cabinet. He was dismissed from office for this breach of etiquette.

Palmerston had many differences with Queen Victoria. The Minister strongly supported the Italian movement for unity and freedom but the Queen was not in sympathy with this policy. Victoria, however, was unable to control the irrepressible Palmerston who looked upon the Queen as no better than a child. Lord John Russel was feeling uneasy over the tension between the Queen and the Foreign Minister. But he dared not touch the veteran minister who had upheld the dignity of England in many a difficult situation. In the case of two British citizens who had suffered at the hands of the Government of Greece Palmerston indicated the policy of England in a spirited speech in the House of Commons. He won the plaudits of his countrymen when he asserted : "As the Roman in the days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say *Civis Romanum sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong." By the able advocacy of the cause

of the English people in the Don Pacifico case Palmerston became the most popular Minister. But the Queen complained about the way in which she was treated by Palmerston. She spoke to Russel that she would like a change in the Foreign Office. Palmerston promised to amend his course and to consult the Queen on all important questions. But the friction between the Premier and the Foreign Minister increased when the latter granted an interview to Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian Revolution, and in receiving a Radical deputation referred to the Emperors of Austria and Russia as "odious and detestable assassins" His approval of Napoleon III's *coup d' ètat* against the direct principle of neutrality announced by the Government became unbearable even for Russell, and Palmerston had to leave the Foreign Office. His dismissal delighted the European monarchs (December, 1851). Palmerston had his revenge when he brought about the fall of the Russel Ministry by an amendment to the Militia Bill (February 1862). In a few days Russell resigned and Lord Derby became the Prime Minister, but the Tory Ministry could not continue long. For a short time a Coalition Government under Aberdeen was formed. In this Ministry Palmerston became the Home Secretary and Russell the Foreign Secretary, England was soon dragged into war with Russia, and when the matters became serious in the Crimea Palmerston was called to lead the Government at the call of the nation.

The Crimean War. Russia had all along cherished the desire of getting a foothold in Turkey. Tsar Nicholas in the course of his visit to London in 1844 had proposed that as Turkey was a decaying power its territories should be divided between Russia and England. The British Foreign Minister Lord Aberdeen did not pay heed to the suggestion which was again repeated in 1853. The British attitude

was that Turkey should be maintained as a bulwark against Russia and that she should be helped to reform her methods of government. But circumstances led to a friction between Turkey and Russia and other Powers of Europe were dragged into this conflict.

The dispute arose regarding the protection of the Christian Holy places within the Turkish Empire and the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The Tsar supported the cause of the Greek priests at Jerusalem and Napoleon III championed the cause of the Latin priests; the Sultan admitted the claims of the Latin priests to hold the keys to the Church at Bethlehem and to the Grotto of the Sacred Manger (May 4, 1853). This was a rebuff to the Tsar. He then sent Prince Mentchikoff to Constantinople to demand from the Porte the right to protect the members of the Greek Church and the Holy places. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador at Constantinople advised the Porte to refuse the claim to protect the subjects of the Sultan as this would affect his position as a sovereign. The rejection of the Russian claim was considered by the Tsar as a mark of the breach of friendly relations. Mentchikoff left Constantinople with all his staff and the Tsar gave orders to his army to cross the Pruth and occupy the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. On the approach of the Russians the Porte sent a note to the Powers asking for help. The representatives of England, France, Austria and Prussia met at Vienna and addressed a joint note to the Porte and Russia. But the intervention of the Powers could not solve the differences amicably. The British and the French Governments ordered their combined fleets to proceed to the Besika Bay to put pressure upon Russia who on the other hand said that her troops could not be withdrawn from the occupied principalities till the combined fleets left the Bay,

Instead of withdrawing the combined fleets pressed further up and in violation of the Convention of the Straits of 1841 passed through the Dardanelles. The Porte had demanded evacuation of the Principalities within fifteen days, and on the failure of Russia to comply with the terms of the ultimatum war was declared on the 23rd October, 1853.

The first important engagement between the two countries took place off Sinope where a Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron carrying transports to Batoum (November 30, 1853). The incident has been described as the "massacre of Sinope." The peoples of France and Britain became indignant at the action of Russia and the combined fleets entered the Black Sea on January 4, 1854. The British Cabinet was divided over the policy that they would adopt; the Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen was not willing to declare war but other members of the Cabinet were not confident of the success of his pacific policy. There was division over the question of Parliamentary reform. Napoleon III tried to avoid war and offered to intervene but Tsar Nicholas did not respond to his letter. Then England and France sent an ultimatum on February 27 to evacuate the Principalities by the 30th April. Austria gave diplomatic support to the ultimatum but Russia refused the ultimatum and hostilities started on the 27th and 28th March. The allied troops were despatched to help the Turks on the Danube. On the arrival of the combined army at Varna on the coast of the Black Sea the Russians began to evacuate the Principalities in July. Another expedition was sent through the Baltic to Cronstadt but could not do anything.

The next vital point was the Russian naval arsenal in the Crimea. The Russians were fortifying Sebastopol and the allied plan was to capture this place before the works

were completed. They reached Eupatoria on the coast in September, and defeated the Russians at the battle of Alma. Three days after the incident the allies marched towards Sebastopol and on the 26th occupied Balaclava. Another battle was fought at Inkerman and on the approach of the winter the hostilities had to be suspended. The allied troops were not provided with the requirements of the severe winter of Russia and a large number died for want of food and more than half the army were in the hospital. The revelations made by the newspapers aroused a storm of indignation in England and the Government was forced to resign. When both Lord Derby and Lord John Russell failed to form a ministry Lord Palmerston was sent for. Palmerston became Prime Minister at the age of seventy-one. He put greater energy in the conduct of the war and Florence Nightingale was sent to organise relief to the wounded soldiers. During the winter the Russians had strengthened their position and vast reinforcements had arrived. On the other hand the allies had a difficult task in maintaining the siege of Sebastopol. They were in the meantime joined by troops sent by the King of Piedmont, who wanted to obtain the help of France and England in the struggle for Italian unity. A Russian attack in the month of August to relieve Sebastopol was repulsed in the battle of Tchernaya. The Russian garrison was overpowered in September, 1855 and the fortress of Sebastopol was captured by assault. To counterbalance this defeat the Russians forced the capitulation of Kars in Armenia (November, 1855). Both sides became exhausted and negotiations were made for peace. A Conference met at Paris under the presidency of Napoleon III and the Treaty of Paris was signed on May 30, 1856. The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was guaranteed by the Powers and Turkey was admitted into the European system. The conquests were

restored, the Black Sea was neutralised, the navigation of the Danube was made free, the naval base of Sebastopol was dismantled, the authority of Turkey over the principaties of Wallachia and Moldavia was recognised and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus were closed to the warships of the Powers. Russia also agreed to keep no warships in the Black Sea and gave up her claims to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan who on his part promised to carry out a number of reforms.

Palmerstonian Era. The popular Prime Minister Palmerston guided the British Government for ten years with the brief interval of a Tory Government in 1858-59. After the conclusion of the Crimean War he was faced with a complication in the Far East, and the Indian Mutiny. There was a short war in Persia. In 1837 the Shah of Persia had invaded Herat which was considered to be the "Gate of India" at the instigation of Russia, but the strong defence put up by the English forced the Shah to give up the siege. The Shah bound himself not to occupy Herat by a Convention in 1853. But during the Crimean War the Shah laid siege to Herat on the excuse that it was threatened by Dost Muhammad of Kabul. This led to the war in which the British won two decisive victories and peace was concluded by a treaty on March 4, 1857. Persia gave up all claims to Herat or Afghanistan and agreed to accept the British mediation in any future difference.

The war in China arose over a dispute regarding the right to carry on trade. A vessel named the "Arrow", flying the British flag was boarded by the Chinese and its crew captured on a charge of piracy. The British Consul with the support of the Governor of Hong Kong demanded extradition of the crew but the Chinese Government refused. This led to attacks and counter-attacks. Peace was brought about in June, 1858 by the Treaty of Tientsin. A British

Embassy was established at Pekin and a Chinese Embassy at London; the river Yang-tse and five ports were opened to foreign trade. The Chinese policy had been challenged in Parliament and a motion carried against Palmerston in the House of Commons; the Premier appealed to the country and Parliament was dissolved on March 18, 1857, but the country supported him with an overwhelming majority. The Government suffered another defeat over the discussion regarding the *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*. Early in 1858, an Italian named Orsini had made an attempt on the life of Napoleon III, and it was believed that there was a regular gang of cut-throats in London. Palmerston introduced a Bill in Parliament to stop this conspiracy in England. People believed that he was doing it at the dictation of Napoleon. The Liberals and Conservatives were combined in their opposition to the Bill. On the defeat of the Government Palmerston resigned (February, 1858).

The Tory Derby stepped into his shoes and carried on the work of Palmerston in China and passed the Government of India Bill at the end of the Mutiny. A few more liberal measures were enacted in the brief period of Derby administration: the Jews were admitted to Parliament and the property qualification of members was abolished. Disraeli also moved his Reform Bill which was defeated on second reading. In the general election the Conservatives gained a few more seats but the Government was defeated on an amendment to the Address of the King. Derby resigned and then Palmerston came once more to power.

In the second administration of Palmerston Lord John Russell became the Foreign Minister. The period is of great importance with regard to foreign affairs. There was the war of Italian freedom and unity; the Danes and the Germans were fighting over Schleswig and Holstein; and in America the North was fighting with the South

regarding the liberation of the slaves. England was concerned in each of these questions and Palmerston managed to keep her aloof from the struggles.

The Italian Risorgimento was looked upon with sympathy by the English people. At the Conference at Paris, Cavour, the representative of the kingdom of Piedmont, enlisted the co-operation of Napoleon in settling the relations with Austria. Piedmont was involved in a war in 1859 and Napoleon III came to Italy with his military support. But on account of the threatened attack of Prussia upon France Napoleon concluded the Armistice of Villafranca with Austria. The terms of the Armistice were not agreeable to Cavour, and Napoleon realised that the states of Central Italy would not rest content till they were united to Piedmont. When the Central States expressed their definite desire for union Napoleon did not venture to interfere on account of the attitude of Palmerston. "The people of the Duchies," wrote Palmerston, "have as good a right to change their rulers as the people of England, France, Belgium and Sweden, and the annexation of the Duchies would be an unmixed good for Italy, for France, and for Europe." The Queen was opposed to this policy of Palmerston but the Prime Minister was ably supported by Russell and Gladstone and the public opinion in England. The annexation of the Central States was acquiesced in by Napoleon on receiving Savoy and Nice. Not satisfied with the consolidation of the northern states alone the Italian hero Garibaldi went on an expedition to Sicily and Naples. He was determined to march upon Rome and to save the situation Palmerston advised Cavour to go to Naples. Napoleon asked for English intervention to maintain the neutrality of Naples but Palmerston refused, and by a plebiscite, both Sicily and Naples were added to the Kingdom of Victor Immanuel. Palmerston and Russell thus helped in the

unification of Italy by their policy of non-intervention. They are therefore counted among the makers of Italian unity.

A civil war took place in America between the Northern and Southern States in 1861. Slavery had been abolished in the north but the states in the south still allowed the employment of slave labour. According to the law of federation the Central Government was precluded from interfering in the question of labour. Abraham Lincoln, a strong champion of the abolition of slavery was elected President of the United States in 1860. The Southern States feared that Lincoln would get the constitution changed to effect abolition. They formed themselves into a new union called the Confederate States of America and captured the forts belonging to the Federal Government. Lincoln denied the right of the Southern States to secede and then declared war against them. The civil war lasted till 1865. In September, 1862, by a proclamation slavery was declared abolished in the South. Great Britain remained neutral in this war. The sympathies of the people were divided. Generally, the British sympathies were on the side of abolition but on account of economic interests and the old prejudices against the United States there was an influential party, including Gladstone, in sympathy with the South. The cotton mills of England used to get their raw materials from the Southern States and the Southern ports were blockaded by the North, so that there was great distress in England. The British Government recognised the Confederates as belligerents. This annoyed the Government of the United States. A friction arose over the capture of the two envoys of the Southern States on the English Mail steamer, the *Trent*. Russell at once demanded the release of the envoys and troops were sent to Canada in case of emergency.

President Lincoln saw the weakness of their position and released the two gentlemen. The British Government, however, did not recognise the right of the South to send envoys, as this right could be claimed only by free states. Another incident happened in connection with the war, which was likely to bring about a rupture. The Southern States lacked a navy and obtained from the yards of Messrs. Laird at Birkenhead a fast steamer which was subsequently known as the *Alabama.* But the construction of a ship by a neutral country for war purpose was forbidden by the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819. The Government of the United States, therefore, protested against the help rendered by England to the Southern States. It was too late when Russell tried to intervene. The *Alabama* caused much damage to the commerce of the Northern States; it captured 69 prizes from the mercantile marine of the North. The Government of the United States therefore demanded compensation and apology. The controversy was dragged on for a long time. The matter was finally referred to an international tribunal which met at Geneva. According to the award of the tribunal Gladstone paid £3,000,000 as compensation to the United States in 1881. The civil war ended on April 9, 1865, and the relations between England and America have ever since remained friendly.

Palmerston sympathised with all liberal movements on the continent. There was a rising of the Poles in 1863 when the young Poles were seized as conscripts for the Russian Army. The Prussian Chanceller Bismarck allowed the Prussian troops free passage through Russian territory but refused asylum to the Poles. The Foreign Secretary wrote strong letters to the Russian Government but was not prepared to join Napoleon III in calling an European Congress to decide the question. Russell had no inten-

tion of involving England in a war and therefore the Tsar ignored his note and France felt aggrieved at the English attitude of neutrality.

Russell followed the same policy with regard to the Schleswig-Holstein question. The King of Denmark wanted to annex the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, but the German population within those districts were unwilling to cut off their connection with Germany. They desired to have a separate Duke of their own. They were supported by Prussia, Austria and other German States. Palmerston and his Foreign Secretary Russell demanded the enforcement of the Treaty of London of 1852, by which the Powers had guaranteed the integrity of the Danish dominions. When war took place between Denmark and the German States in 1863-64 England, along with Sweden and Norway, protested, but could not intervene. The Danes suffered several defeats and lost Jutland. A Conference of the Powers was then called at London (April, 1864). But they could arrive at no settlement, and Prussia and Austria won a victory over the Danes and forced them to cede the Duchies along with Lauenbreg (August, 1864). The Duchies were first managed by Prussia and Austria jointly. By the Convention of Gastein Prussia was given the power to rule Schleswig and Austria Holstein. The arrangement did not work satisfactorily, and the two countries settled the dispute by another war. The Duchies were acquired by Prussia by the Treaty of Prague (August 23, 1866).

Neither Palmerston nor Russell desired the growth of Prussian influence. England, however, did not intervene in the Schleswig question. Russell simply sent strong notes which were not supported by adequate measures. The result was Bismarck did not care for the attitude of England who thus lost her influence in the councils of

Europe. Henceforth Bismarck dominated European politics, and England was driven into the position of "splendid isolation."

Before the dispute between Austria and Prussia was settled Palmerston died (October 18, 1865). With him closes one important epoch in the history of England. The period of Whig ascendancy came to an end, and the era of democracy dawned. His was the most attractive personality in English politics. He inherited the liberalism of Canning in foreign affairs, and was ardent in upholding the might and majesty of England. He stood by the nationalities struggling for freedom and constitutional government, and was ever ready to crush continental absolutism. Towards the end of his life his influence declined, he could not maintain the dignity of England. But this was due to circumstances over which he had no control. England was not in a position to stand against Bismarck, and possibly, the Queen did not desire hostility with Prussia with which England was bound by matrimonial alliance. Old Palmerston was the beloved of the nation, and he was known to the people as "Pam" or "Palmy". "As a man he was extraordinarily winning:" says Marriott, "perfect in temper, unfailingly good-humoured, splendidly courageous, invincibly optimistic. He never knew when he was beaten, and really beaten he never was. Confident in himself and proud of the confidence which he inspired in his countrymen, he was absolutely devoid of that self-consciousness and restlessness which tortured some of his more conscientious colleagues."

The Franco-Prussian War. After the Austro-Prussian War in 1866 Bismarck organised the North German Confederation under the leadership of Prussia, and Austria was driven out of Germany. Napoleon III became unpopular on account of his annexation of Savoy

and Nie and his failure to maintain Maximilian on the throne of Mexico. He remained neutral during the Austro-Prussian War in expectation of obtaining some territories on the Rhine. He further desired to purchase Luxemburg from the King of Holland. Bismarck exposed him before other Powers and then brought about a war with him over a trifling matter. There was some misunderstanding between the two countries regarding the question of Spanish succession. In the Franco-Prussian War Napoleon was made a prisoner, and Alsace and Lorraine were annexed by Germany. As a result of the war the German Empire came into existence, and Italy was united. The English Prime Minister, Gladstone, kept his country absolutely neutral, although there were many Englishmen in sympathy with France. The main contribution of Gladstone in this affair was the maintenance of the integrity of Belgium. He secured an assurance from France and Prussia to the effect that the neutrality of Belgium would not be violated.

Beaconsfield's Imperialism. On the defeat of the Liberals in the election of 1874 Disraeli came to power. His name has been associated with "Imperialism." Gladstone and the Liberals desired peace abroad, and they never wanted expansion of the British Empire by ruthlessly destroying the freedom of the weaker nationalities. But Disraeli steadily pursued the policy of expansion. He not only wanted to extend the British territories, but tried to link the various parts of the Empire close together. The dominions of Britain lay scattered in different parts of the globe, and it was believed that these dominions would gradually secede from the Empire like the United States. With the growth of industries and commerce people felt that wars would cease, and the world would enjoy

peace. But the Franco-Prussian War and the rise of Germany in Europe as a great Empire changed the old ideas. Thoughtful men were awakened to a new sense of danger. Disraeli carefully studied the situation, and tried to put Britain at the head of a strong Empire so that her position in politics or in commerce might not be shaken.

The first step in his imperial project was to link up the eastern parts of the Empire with the west. The Suez Canal had been constructed with the enterprise of a French engineer named De Lesseps in 1866-69. But it was managed by a company consisting of Egypt, France and England. The Khedive of Egypt was a spendthrift, and in order to pay his debts he sold his shares in the Suez Canal Company to England in 1875. By this transaction Disraeli disappointed the French, and obtained for England the control over the route to the east. On account of the acquisition of the canal England was more closely associated with Turkey.

The smaller nationalities in the Balkan felt the impulse of a new awakening, and they desired to throw off the Turkish yoke. Greece had already become free ; Austria and Roumania had obtained some amount of autonomy ; but in other areas the Turkish rule was still very strong. The people were oppressed under the burden of heavy taxation, and were deprived of all political privileges. In 1874, the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were suffering from acute economic distress, and when they did not receive any relief from the burden of taxes they rose in revolt against the Turks in July, 1875. The Bosnians were supported by the Serbs, and there was a general rising among the Slav races. The oppressed Slavs appealed to the Powers for help, and the

Austrian Minister Andrassy drew up a note in consultation with Prince Gorchakoff of Russia and Prince Bismarck of Germany with a view to put pressure upon the Porte. Disraeli did not join the European ministers in urging redress for the Slavs. He adhered to the traditional English policy of supporting Turkey.

The insurrection spread into the different Balkan countries, and active preparation was made for a big national war of the Slavs. In retaliation the Turks murdered the German and French Consuls at Salonica (May 6). Then the Chancellors of the three Eastern empires submitted a memorandum known as the Berlin Memorandum (May 13, 1876). France and Italy supported the memorandum, but England refused to join them. The British fleet in the Mediterranean was also ordered to proceed to the Besika Bay in case of any European complications. In the meantime reports of the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks in Bulgaria reached England. Gladstone attacked the British Government for anti-Slav policy, 'and held it responsible for the atrocities. But Disraeli did not change his policy. Russia out of her sympathy for the Slavs took up arms and declared war against Turkey early in 1877. She fought strenuously and the Russian tribes reached the outskirts of Constantinople by the beginning of 1878. The Sultan then was compelled to agree to the Treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878). This treaty was concluded between Turkey and Russia without any reference to the other powers. But the British Government demanded that no settlement was final till the other European Powers and the terms affected the old treaties. The Powers met in Congress at Berlin on June 12, 1878. But before the opening of the Congress Disraeli had arranged two secret conventions with Russia and Turkey. The terms of the Treaty of San Stefano were revised and the Treaty of Berlin

was signed on July 13. Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania became independent. Bulgaria became an antonomous state under the suzerainty of Turkey ; Bosnia and Herzegovina were entrusted to Austria for proper management. The influence of Russia in the Balkan provinces was removed. This was due entirely to the diplomacy of Disraeli, who was now raised to the peerage as Earl of Beaconsfield. The Anglo-Turkish Convention procured for England the island of Cyprus on promise of help to Turkey against Russia. The British people were happy at the restoration of the position of England in the councils of Europe. On his return to London Beaconsfield announced that he brought " peace with honour ".

In other parts of the Empire Beaconsfield tried to extend the influence of England. He annexed the Transvaal and made the Government of India declare war against Afghanistan with a view to counteract the influence of Russia. Gladstone held that the imperialistic ventures of Beaconsfield were nothing better than political immorality. In his Midlothian campaign, before the general election in 1879–80, Gladstone exposed the hollowness of Beaconfield's policy. The elections were favourable to the Liberals, and Gladstone now came to power. Gladstone's administration was mainly concerned with the domestic problems, and the Liberal Premier reversed the policy of Disraeli in Afghanistan. Beaconsfield did not long survive. He died on April 19, 1881, mourned by men of all sections.

England in Egypt. The ruler of Egypt, Khedive Ismail, borrowed heavily in England and France. He could not pay his debts, neither could he find money for the expenses of his government. In 1876 England and France arranged that his finances should be placed under the dual control of their representatives. An English official and a

French official were specially appointed for the purpose. Ismail was deposed in 1879, and his son Tewfik was placed upon the throne in his place. But the control of the foreign officials became intolerable to the Nationalists in Egypt. Under the leadership of Arabi Pasha they rose in revolt in 1882. The Europeans at Alexandria were attacked and a large number of these people left the country in fear. The Government of England proposed a joint intervention by England, France and Italy. The last two refused to join, and an English army was despatched under the command of General Wolsley. Arabi Pasha was captured and sent as a prisoner to Ceylon ; Tewfik was restored to power. But the country was placed under British occupation. In 1884, Lord Cromer was appointed Consul-General in Egypt, and in the course of a few years he succeeded in developing the resources of Egypt, by constructing railways and irrigation canals, and improving the condition of the peasants. In spite of their express desire to leave the country the hold of the British gradually increased. A British adviser was appointed in almost every department of the Khedive's Government, and the country became practically a British Protectorate although in theory it was a tributary to Turkey.

France was associated with Britain in the beginning in supervising the Egyptian finance. But, in 1883, the dual control was abolished, although France still retained considerable influence there. An encounter with the Soudanese took place in 1882. The Soudan was a province of Egypt, but it was very badly governed. A rebellion under the Mahdi threatened the Egyptian rule. An expedition under Hicks Pasha was sent to crush the Mahdists. But the General with all his men was killed. Another expedition under Baker was repulsed in 1884.

General Gordon was then sent with a large army. But the General and his eleven thousand were completely annihilated (January, 1885). The Soudan was left to the Dervishes for a time. Another army was sent under the command of Kitchener in 1896. Kitchener proceeded cautiously and routed the Mahdists at the battle of Omdurman (September 2, 1898). The Soudan was then annexed to Egypt and England. A rupture with the French was likely about this time. A French explorer, named Marchand, had planted the French flag at Fashoda which the British claimed as their own. It was the intention of the French to connect their possessions in Africa from the Congo to the Red Sea across the Sahara. But they failed on account of the determined attitude of the British. The relations with France improved when the Western Powers felt the importance of the growth of the German influence and the strength of the Triple Alliance formed between Germany, Austria and Italy. King Edward VII visited France in 1903, and President Loubet paid him a return visit in London. Lord Lansdowne and M. Delcasse, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries settled their differences with regard to Egypt and Morocco, and they also came to an understanding with regard to Newfoundland, Siam and West Africa. The two countries agreed not to touch the political status of each other. France promised not to question the rights of England in Egypt and England those of France in Morocco. Thus developed the Franco-British Entente which had great effect in international affairs.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Foiled in her effort to obtain an outlet into the Mediterranean or the Persian Gulf Russia took Port Arthur on lease for twenty-five years. The place was fortified and connected by a railway

line with Harbin. Almost at the same time Germany and France obtained from China a few places on the Pacific. Great Britain acquired Wei-Hai-Wei, the port opposite Port Arthur. The competition of the European Powers in China led to the Boxer rising. The powers combined in crushing the Chinese and after a short war compelled China to pay a heavy indemnity (September 7, 1901).

On account of the situation in China England desired that the Powers should define their policy in the East. An agreement was signed between Germany and England on October 16, 1900, by which they guaranteed the integrity of China, and maintained the policy of "open door" in commerce. It was later on explained by the German Chancellor that it applied to the Yang-tse-Kiang Valley where the British influence prevailed, and not to Manchuria where Russia obtained control. During the Boer War Germany showed her sympathy with the Boers. The attitude of Germany led England to seek an alliance with Japan. A treaty with Japan was signed on January 30, 1902, to counteract the influence of Russia in the Far East. By this treaty England departed from her traditional policy of "splendid isolation" followed since the time of Canning. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) England remained faithful to Japan. The alliance was renewed for five years more on August 12, 1905, and according to the new treaty England could help Japan if attacked by any one power, and Japan agreed to defend India against foreign attack.

Triple Entente. England had come to an understanding with France regarding their respective position in Egypt and Morocco. The Powers also were making mutual arrangements regarding Morocco and Tripoli. The

Kaiser of Germany protested against the way in which the momentous issues were decided without his knowledge. The German Chancellor demanded the continuance of the "open door" and the integrity of the political status of the Sultan of Morocco. A Conference of the Powers was held at Algeciras from January to April, 1906. In that Conference France was backed up by England, Russia, the United States, Spain and Italy; Germany had none but Austria on her side. After this the British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey promised military aid to France in case of war. The *Entente Cordiale* thereby became an effective alliance.

France had already entered into an alliance with Russia. By the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 England and Russia entered into an agreement regarding their respective position in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. The three Powers, England, France and Russia thus strengthened the bonds of their mutual relations and formed what is known as the *Triple Entente.* This combination though not definitely formed in the form of a written alliance was not less effective than the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. The two groups generated a strong spirit of suspicion in international relations.

The Algeciras Conference did not improve the situation in Morocco. The old Sultan had been driven from his throne by his brother in 1908, and the tribesmen rose in revolt against him. The usurper applied to France for help, and the latter decided to send a relieving expedition in 1911. The action of France was considered by Germany as a violation of the Algeciras Act. The German gunboat *Panther* was despatched to Agadir in the southern part of Morocco (July 1, 1911), with a view to put pressure upon France. The British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward

Grey, warned Germany and war was imminent. On account of the strong attitude of England an agreement was arrived at on November 4. Morocco henceforth became a French sphere. The agreement was felt as a humiliation for Germany. The Entente proved stronger than the Triple Alliance.

The Balkan Wars. The Near East was the storm-centre in Europe. There the Balkan races after gaining their freedom in 1878 became jealous of their national rights. The three neighbouring great Powers, Turkey, Russia and Austria tried to retain their influence over them. There were still some areas between Bulgaria and Greece under Turkish rule and Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia were anxious to annex Macedcnia. The rivalry of these small states was likely to produce a friction, when Russia and Austria with the connivance of Great Britain, France and Italy drew up a programme for settlement of the problem (1903). The administration of Macedonia was placed in the hands of Russian and Austrian agents, and the local *gendarmerie* or police force was placed under the command of officers recruited from all the European countries except Germany. This arrangement continued till 1908, and, on the withdrawal of the European officers, Macedonia was once again thrown into a state of anarchy.

The loss of the influence of Turkey in Europe was felt as a great humiliation by the young Turks educated in foreign countries. They organised a movement to restore the lost influence and to reform the Government. Sultan Abdul Hamid was forced to abdicate (April 27, 1909). The Young Turks alienated the subject races by their policy of "Turkification". When the Ottoman Empire was involved in internal troubles Austria quietly annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908). There was a large

population of Serbs in those provinces, and they did not desire to submit to the Austrian rule. An appeal was made to Russia to help the fellow-Slavs in their struggle for freedom. A war was imminent, but the British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey exercised his sobering influence and the crisis was averted for the time being. Germany was persuaded not to support Austria, and without the help of Germany Austria dared not risk a war. The Balkan States—Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria—as a safeguard against the advance of Austria upon their territory formed a *Balkan League* in 1909.

Turkey was involved in a war with Italy over Tripoli in North Africa in September, 1911. The war continued till the autumn of the next year. No Power came to the help of Turkey, and she was forced to surrender Tripoli, and a few islands in the Mediterranean (October 18, 1912) as she was confronted by a revolution in Albania.

The Balkan League was determined to drive Turkey out of Europe, and to check the progress of Austria towards the east. The states forming the League demanded from the Porte an assurance of improving the condition of the Christians in Macedonia. But as the reply was not satisfactory, the League declared war against Turkey. The first Balkan War lasted six weeks, the Balkan troops won a number of decisive victories, and they reached the neighbourhood of Constantinople. At the collapse of Turkey the representatives of the Powers met at London under the presidency of Sir Edward Grey. The settlement of the dispute seemed impossible, the Conference broke up and war was renewed in February, 1913. Turkey in her great distress once again appealed

to the Powers to settle the terms of peace, and agreed to the Treaty of London (May 30, 1913). She gave up all her territory in Europe except Albania which was created an independent State. Macedonia was to be shared between Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria.

The Balkan States quarrelled over the distribution of spoils, and the Second Balkan War started in June. Roumania now joined in the fight as she had received no share of the territories surrendered by Turkey. Bulgaria was dissatisfied with the share allotted to her. The Balkan League was broken. Bulgaria sought the friendship of Turkey, and ultimately the differences were settled by the Treaty of Bucharest (August 10, 1913). The unity of the Balkan States could not be restored. Bulgaria could not forget her humiliation and tried to win the friendship of Turkey.

The Great War (1914—1918). The first flash of the great conflagration was seen in the Near East in the summer of 1914. The Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina were never reconciled to the Austrian rule. On June 23, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated while on a visit to Sarajevo. The Prince was the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungry, and the evidence collected at the time proved that in the plot to murder the Prince officials of Serbia were involved. An ultimatum was drawn up in consultation with Germany who, in the beginning, thought that the matter should be settled between Austria and Serbia. But Serbia was ably supported by Russia who on her part received an assurance from France that the latter would stand by her according to the terms of the Dual Alliance. England had made a naval arrangement with France in 1912, and promised that she would protect the North Sea while France would

concentrate her fleet in the Mediterranean. When the crisis was imminent France and Russia pressed England to be true to the Triple Entente. Sir Edward Grey made an effort to settle the question by a Conference of the Powers. But Austria had no faith in Conferences, and in the meantime Russia had mobilised her troops.

The Austrian ultimatum was delivered at Belgrade on July 23 at 6 P. M. and a reply was demanded at the same hour by July 25. The reply given by Serbia was considered unsatisfactory by Austria, although it created a favourable impression in the different countries. The Austrian Ambassador withdrew from Belgrade and Austria declared war against Serbia. The efforts of Sir Edward Grey to refer the question to a European Conference failed. On the other hand Russia mobilised her troops and was ready to come to the assistance of Serbia whom she did not like to be humiliated. Germany then demanded of Russia immediate demobilisation of her troops. Russia could not comply with the terms of the ultimatum and consequently Germany declared war against Russia, (August 1). A similar ultimatum was sent to France, but she could not guarantee her neutrality, and in fact she had already mobilised her troops. War against France was declared on August 3. France and Russia counted upon the support of England, as a member of the Triple Entente. England was hesitating when Germany led an attack against France through the neutral country of Belgium. The neutrality of this small country had been guaranteed by the European Powers. During the Franco-Prussian War Gladstone insisted upon the maintenance of neutrality, and Sir Edward Grey asked for a similar assurance from France and Germany. France gave the assurance, but Germany did not give any definite reply as thereby she would have to disclose her plan of war.

When the Belgian territory was encroached upon by the Germans England decided her course and declared war against Germany (August 4, 1914). When Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador saw the German Chancellor, before he left Germany, Bethmann-Hollweg felt awfully agitated. About the meeting Goschen writes:

"He said that the steps taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree, just for a word 'neutrality'—a word which in war time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her."

The declaration of war made by England converted the local conflict between Austria and Serbia into a world-wide war. Almost all the important Powers of Europe joined one side or the other. France had her grievance against Germany on account of the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian War. Since her great defeat she was seeking for revenge. England was getting jealous of the increase in the naval strength of Germany. Italy was undecided regarding her course. Austria did not consult her regarding the ultimatum, and she joined the Entente Powers on the promise of the restoration of her provinces in Austrian possession. Turkey had of late cultivated the friendship of Germany, and she had her grievances against Russia. The Entente Powers declared war against her as she espoused the cause of the Central Powers. Montenegro joined Serbia, and war was declared against Bulgaria on account of her hostility towards Serbia. Portugal, Roumania and Greece were dragged into the war one after another. The Central Powers occupied one solid block in Europe, and they acted quickly. Belgrade was bombarded on July 30, 1914, and

Luxemburg was invaded on August 2, and on August 4 the Germans entered Belgium. Within a month they swept away the combined troops of the Belgians, the French and the English, and crossed the Marne. The important cities of Belgium fell easily into the hands of the Germans, but the German advance was checked by the timely arrival of the English and the Indian troops. For four years the fight went on stubbornly along the lines laid by the Germans from the North Sea to Switzerland. On the Eastern front the Russians were driven back by May, 1915. The Turks defended themselves ably in the Near East, but in February, 1915, a combined fleet of British and French warships entered the Dardanelles. The allies suffered heavy loss in Gallipoli and at the end of the first year they were held back everywhere. In the second year Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and in combination with Austria crushed Serbia. Montenegro and Albania were also subjugated, and an uninterrupted passage to Turkey was established. Roumania joined the Allies in August, 1916, and entered Transylvania. But General Mackensen conquered Roumania within three weeks. Greece was forced to join the Allies in June, 1917. By that time Russia had collapsed. The Bolshevik Government under Lenin and Trotsky signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in February, 1918. Released from the Eastern front the Germans pressed their attack upon the west. The United States of America had remained neutral from the beginning, but the ruthless submarine activities of the Germans forced them to take up arms. The coming of Americans considerably strengthened the Allies. The Central Powers became exhausted, the people became rebellious, and an armistice was signed in November 11, 1918. The war lasted more than four years, and all the members of the British Empire stood by England in

this crisis. Troops were sent from the Dominions and India, and the British Commonwealth of Nations stood as one entity in repelling the attacks of the enemy.

In the beginning Asquith was the Prime Minister at the head of the Liberal Government. But within a short time a Coalition Government was formed, and Lloyd George was made Minister of Munitions. This did not improve the situation, In order to infuse greater energy into the Government Lloyd George forced Asquith to surrender the leadership into his hands (December, 1915). The allies were still losing in every front. The arrival of the Americans in 1918 saved them from collapse. President Woodrow Wilson, therefore, played the most prominent part in the settlement of the terms of peace. As a condition of the armistice the Kaiser had to abdicate, and a system of responsible government had to be established in Germany. Before the end of the war the allies of Germany had dropped one by one. Bulgaria surrendered unconditionally on September 30, Turkey next month, and Austria capitulated on November 4. Unable to stand any more Germany proposed armistice to President Woodrow Wilson.

The Peace Settlement. The Peace Conference met at Paris on January 18, 1919, and the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, at the Hall of Mirrors where the German Empire had been proclaimed in 1871. Germany was made to cede Alsace-Lorraine free of debt to France; Belgium and Poland received some districts in their neighbourhood; German colonies were distributed amongst France, England, Belgium and Japan; her leases and rights in China were transferred to Japan; Germany had to surrender her navy and to abolish compulsory military service. Her forts on the Rhine and in Heligo-

land were destroyed, and the German army was reduced to 100,000.

The geography of Europe was reconstructed; the Austrian Empire was broken up into pieces. The boundaries of the Balkan States were realigned and new states arose out of the ruins of the old empires. England entered into the war to safeguard the interests of the smaller nationalities, and in course of the war the idea gained ground that nationalities should be given the right to self-determination. The Peace Conference kept these ideals before them, and created a number of new states. Austria was separated from Hungary, and a new independent state was formed with Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia under the name of Czecho-Slovakia. Poland became an independent state; Finland became an independent republic; and Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania arose out of the Baltic provinces of Russia; Roumania obtained large territories. Serbia joined with Montenegro formed the new state of Yugoslavia by the addition of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, that is, the south-eastern provinces of Austria-Hungary. Trentino, with Tyrol, Istria with Trieste were added to Italy. France regained Alsace and Lorraine. Greece obtained territories at the expense of Turkey and Bulgaria. The Turkish Empire also lost vast territories; Arabia became independent, France obtained the control of Syria, and Britain of Palestine and Mesopotamia. Besides the loss of territory, Germany had to pay a heavy indemnity which has been revised at times, and which has caused the economic dislocation of the world. In spite of its obvious defects the Peace Treaty marks a new epoch in the history of Europe. The Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Slavs, and the small nationalities on the Baltic

fulfilled their old ambitions of forming national states. The French, the Italians and the Roumanians living in foreign states were brought back to their own.

The League of Nations. The chief achievement of the war in which so many nations were engaged, and in which millions of men made the supreme sacrifice, was the establishment of the League of Nations. In course of the war people in different countries felt the necessity of an agency which could bring the nations together to discuss their differences, so that by mutual understanding they could avoid war. The idea appealed to President Woodrow Wilson, and he worked strenuously for it in co-operation with the representatives of other nations. In the first part of the Treaty of Peace the Covenant of the League of Nations was embodied, and in the Preamble to the Covenant the objects of the League have been described "as to promote international co-operation, and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and scrupulous respect for all Treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another."

The signatories to the Peace Treaty became original members of the League, and provision was made for the admission of other states on fulfilling certain conditions. The self-governing dominions of the British Empire and India were also made members of the League, but the United States of America did not join. Mexico, Russia, Turkey and Egypt are still outside it. Altogether 54 states have joined the League.

The main organs of the League are the Assembly, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice, and the International Labour Organization. The Assembly meets once a year on the first Monday of September at Geneva which has been selected as the headquarters of the League. Three delegates from each state may attend the Assembly but there is only one vote for a state. The expenses of the League are borne by the member-States according to a fixed proportion.

The Council of the League is a smaller body consisting of five permanent members representing the five Great Powers (Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany) and nine non-permanent members elected for three years, three retiring by rotation every year. Originally there were eight members of the Council, four permanent and four non-permanent. But when Germany joined the League she demanded a permanent seat on the Council, and to accommodate her the constitution of the Council has been modified. The Council meets once a quarter or when there is any important matter to consider.

The Secretariat constitutes the administrative department of the League. It is managed by a Secretary-General with a staff of more than three hundred assistants, coming from thirty different nationalities. Sir Eric Drummond of England held the position of the Secretary-General down to 1933. The Secretariat is divided into eleven sections. The member-States have to register all treaties with the Secretariat, and the Secretariat prepares the materials for every session of the Assembly and Council, for every advisory or diplomatic conference, and gives effect to their decisions.

The permanent Court of International Justice holds its sittings in the Peace Palace near The Hague in Holland.

There are eleven judges and four deputy judges elected by the Council for nine years. The Court adjudicates disputes between nations and gives legal advice to the League Council.

The International Labour Organization has as its object the promotion of better conditions of labour. It holds an annual General Conference which is attended by representatives of governments, employers, and workers. There is a Governing Body with an International Labour Office to carry on the work. The Peace Conference laid down certain "general principles" which are considered as the labour charter. They cover a wide range; the first article says that labour should not be regarded as a commodity or article of commerce. The other articles refer to wages, hours of work, sanitation, rights of combination, etc.

The League has thus a comprehensive programme of peace and human welfare. It has become the most important international organisation and has set people to think internationally. The old policy of suspicion and jealousy has been discredited and people now believe in cooperation and consultation. Although in most countries governments still continue to be militaristic, the people are feeling the necessity of mutual trust. The abolition of secret treaties and the democratisation of diplomacy are expected to restore good-will amongst the nations. The spirit of the League is to spread the ideas of cooperation without trespassing upon national integrity.

The British Foreign Minister plays an important part in the League, and he is a prominent figure at Geneva. The League has not been able to establish peace upon earth, and it has not been able to avoid all conflicts, but it is a fair experiment on new lines.

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